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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

On Being Self-Conscious

IT SEEMS to do little good to scold voters for staying away from local elections. They still think they are doing all they should toward preserving democracy if they listen to the "Town Meeting of the Air," discuss the war, cuss Hitler, and give work or money for British relief.

Stimulating, worthwhile, and desirable as all of these actions may be, there is a very real and grave danger to our democratic processes in the fact that, when important local issues are to be voted on, more than half the qualified voters are prone to stay at home.

Occasionally someone thinks up a good method of bringing to the attention of the stay-at-homes the essential truth that the home town is the first place to "make democracy work." Here are a few recent examples:

The League of Women Voters recently asked 16,000 citizens in Clayton Township, Missouri, why they did not vote in the August 1940 primary.¹ Whatever excuses are given, one result surely will be to promote a little self-examination and self-condemnation.

Worrying over the fact that less than 10 per cent of the voters customarily attend town meetings, the Amesbury (Massachusetts) Taxpayers Association is sending out

2,400 letters, making a door-to-door canvass, and sponsoring a forum to discuss subjects to be taken up at the town meeting.¹

In Palo Alto, California, a public opinion poll² revealed how ignorant the people of a "superior" community are on local affairs, even after they have had an opportunity to read a simple and clear municipal report. Results of the poll may shame them into doing a little home work and participating more fully and intelligently as citizens.

These are simply a few recent constructive ideas. There are others, such as the "Get-Out-the-Vote" campaigns which many Junior Chambers of Commerce and other organizations have sponsored.³

They all spring from the fact that Lincoln's faith in the "common people" was essentially sound. Local elections usually turn out well if there is a large vote. It is only when there is a small vote that selfish, well organized groups can dominate.

The solution of the problem is to show people they can make themselves felt comparatively easily in their own community's affairs—that the first step toward bad local government is taken when the individual feels his vote will make no difference, after all, in the result.

²See "Education of a Citizen," p. 192.

³See "Young Men in Action," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1941.

¹See Citizen Action section, page 228.

Pride Fears Another Fall

LOCAL pride, which so frequently brings ready acceptance of new airports, new industries, and innovations generally which promise prestige or increased employment, is beginning to become more temperate.

More than a few cities, as a result of sad experience, have learned to examine continuing costs in comparison with permanent benefits. True, many local committees descended on Washington to plead their cases when defense industries began developing and dispersing; but most cities were foresighted enough to consider also the responsibilities and expense which accompanied the benefits.

During the lush days of the 1920's and again during the period of federally financed local improvements, the long continuing debt charges, maintenance, and other permanent responsibilities had taught a harsh lesson. There was the small city, for example, which was so elated when it was able to develop a park system adequate for a community several times its size. No one seemed to have

foreseen that the maintenance budget would be quadrupled.

Pressure groups, road builders, and just plain public-spirited citizens are now translating their pet ideas into projects linked more or less to defense. Some of them may be necessary, but does it really help to hang an emotional label on every worthwhile improvement, some of which might well be postponed until we see what the paramount needs will be after the war?

The recent action of a taxpayers' group in a New England city is a case in point. With considerable enthusiasm, some elements in the community were urging the building of an airport—with a defense angle, of course. The taxpayers' group pointed out that another nearby town's airport was already serving this and half a dozen other communities quite satisfactorily. It asked, why spend money and be responsible for the upkeep of something we don't really need and, for all practical purposes, already have?

U. S. Policy on Local Defense Expansion

IN RECENT months many communities have become virtual boom towns as expanding defense industry suddenly increased population so fast that the normal rate of expansion of services was thrown completely out of kilter. In scores of instances the problem faced by local officials was serious. There has been considerable anxiety and a natural desire for a clear statement of the national government's policy toward

sharing the cost of these services which, expanded now, may not be needed after the war.

Such a statement is found in President Roosevelt's recent message to Congress asking for an appropriation of \$150,000,000 because "equity requires that that element of risk attributable to the national defense effort should be shared by the federal government."

(Continued on Page 210)

Education of a Citizen

By MIRIAM ROHER

Women's National Public Service Fellow

RESOLVED:

That the typical citizen is regrettably lacking in his knowledge of even the simple, basic matters relating to municipal government;

That a "good" municipal report, by present reporting standards, does little or nothing to relieve the voter's ignorance;

That women know even less about municipal affairs than their menfolk;

That, especially at this time, the reputation of municipal government is affected by national doings;

That much more effective municipal reporting is an urgent necessity.

WHEN a soap company sets out to sell soap, its advertising is based on the knowledge that the prospective buyers are interested in love, marriage, and business success—and that most people know what soap is. When public administrators set out to sell government, their "reporting" and "public relations" programs are based on—what?

To replace that "what" with information at least approachably as good as that of the commercial advertiser, to find out something about the prejudices, predilections, knowledge, and ignorance of the voter and taxpayer, I chose a guinea-pig city and subjected a cross-section of its voters to two tests. The purpose was to discover (a) what the voter thinks and knows about city government *before* he has been disturbed by any municipal public relations or propaganda program; (b) what the voter thinks and knows about city govern-

ment *after* a "good" municipal report has come his way.

THE TEST CITY

Because it had never had a widely circulated "popular" type municipal report before, and because it was about to have one, Palo Alto, California, population 16,800, was the city chosen for experimentation. Palo Alto's character is determined by suburban shopping, retired persons of respectable means, high income commuting and Stanford University which lies just outside the city limits. It is not a typical city by any means, but a city which would be certain to house the very highest level of voters. (In presidential elections Palo Alto turns out about 94 per cent strong.) If municipal voters know anything, if municipal voters are susceptible of learning, they would be best informed and most educable in Palo Alto.

Governmentally, Palo Alto appears to be good. Its form of government is somewhat small town—an unpaid council of fifteen, a revolving mayoralty with no executive powers—but it is the sort of place where the very word “graft” is unmentionable, where the public officials do the best they can, and where public high-mindedness has resulted in an unusual degree of public ownership and public social services. In recent years taxes and municipal debt have been consistently declining and utility rates are lower than in many other cities. If ever a city existed that should be well thought of by its citizens, Palo Alto is certainly the place.

At the time of the “before” survey, in December 1940, the civic education of Palo Alto citizens had been no more neglected than in most other cities. To be sure, there was no generally distributed municipal report, but the city’s sole daily newspaper, to which almost every family in town subscribes, was giving municipal government a high degree of coverage.

The “after” poll was taken in February 1941. Four weeks before this second survey every household in the city had been mailed an attractive, twenty-four-page booklet titled, *Your City Government, 1939-1940, Palo Alto, California*. The cover had an attractive panel of whimsical black and white drawings, and bore the legend: “Democratic government will survive in this unfriendly world if the electorate KNOWS AND CARES what its public servants are doing.” Inside, the book told with the aid of photo-

graphs, charts, graphs, pictographs, drawings, and text, most of the things that citizens are supposed to want to know about city government. By the standards for municipal reporting set up by the International City Managers’ Association,¹ this first popularly distributed Palo Alto report would probably rate high.

In the manner of Mr. Gallup and of the commercial market researchers, two “cross-sectional” public opinion polls were taken, with identical questionnaires. The first one was taken one week before distribution of the report, the second, four weeks after the report came out. Polling involved standing on Palo Alto street corners and ringing Palo Alto doorbells. Enough people were interviewed during the course of a week, during each poll (with two people working full time), to provide statistically adequate results. Divided into age, sex, and income groups in the same proportion as the population itself is divided into these groups, the questionnaires in each poll were equivalent to a rough approximation of the Palo Alto population.

Everyone was asked the same nine questions, plus some additional personal questions designed to fix income, age, and other factors relating to the cross-section. There were additional questions in the second poll relating to reception of the report as well.

¹See C. E. Ridley and H. A. Simon, *Specifications for the Annual Municipal Report, 1939*; also *A Checklist of Suggested Items for the Annual Municipal Report* (supplement to the *Specifications*), Chicago, 1940.

I. *Portrait of Palo Alto Voter: Before Receiving Municipal Report*

Question 1: Do you think you're getting your money's worth from the city taxes you pay on your property or in your rent?

In Palo Alto those who had any opinions at all were satisfied with what they were getting. Only 9 per cent answered "no" to this question; 63 per cent answered "yes". But 28 per cent confessed to "no opinion." The interviewers met a stock reaction from too many people: "But I don't *pay* any taxes!" It was impossible to convince them that, directly or indirectly, they do.

Question 2: Do you think the city taxes you pay today are higher or lower than your city taxes five years ago?

One thing is certain: Palo Alto didn't know whether taxes were higher or lower than five years ago, and it seemed probable that Palo Alto didn't care. Of those interviewed, 53 per cent had no opinion on this question. And the difference between those who thought taxes were higher—25 per cent, and those who thought they were lower—15 per cent, and those who thought taxes hadn't moved at all—7 per cent, was too small to be significant. As a matter of fact, the Palo Alto tax rate has dropped from \$1.20 in 1935 to \$.95 in 1940, and assessments have not risen during the same period.

Question 3: Do you think the city is more or less in debt now than it was five years ago?

Due, apparently, to good newspaper coverage of this question, as

many as 29 per cent of the civic guinea pigs knew that municipal debt had decreased during the past five years. Many people who answered correctly mentioned this newspaper story. Others were inclined to exclaim, in naive, shocked tones: "But I never thought *Palo Alto* was in debt at all!" To these, debt is obviously conceived of as shameful, whether municipal or private. To suggest that their good city was in debt was equivalent to suggesting that their neighbor beat his wife. No opinions on this question, however, were registered by the overwhelming majority—63 per cent. A stalwart 8 per cent maintained that debt had risen.

Question 4: Do you think the city would pay part of your hospital bill if you got sick?

Beneficent Palo Alto has for the past six years paid \$2.50 a day, for a maximum of twenty-one days, on the hospital bills of all who had lived in the city six months or more. Of this benefit so closely related to their pocketbooks, 62 per cent of the voters were aware. Thirty-eight per cent were not.

Question 5: How much do you think the mayor and city councilmen of Palo Alto are paid?

They are, of course, paid nothing. One out of four knew it. The rest, in the main, just shook their heads. But a few ventured colorful estimates, such as "plenty!" or, firmly, "three hundred a month," or "five thousand a year!"

Question 6: Do you think your water, electricity, and garbage

collection rates are higher or lower than in other cities the same size as Palo Alto?

All Palo Alto utility rates are lower than comparable rates in most other cities. The utilities are city-owned, and have been so since 1917. Besides keeping a representative utility bill down to \$120 where the same amount of service would cost \$150 elsewhere, the utilities' profits provide 43 per cent of the city's general operating fund. However—

Palo Alto utility users retreated in wild confusion from the question of whether their rates are high or low. On water they split almost evenly into four groups: "higher," "lower," "same," and "no opinion." "Lower," with 37 per cent, had an edge over "higher," with 27 per cent, but not enough of an edge to make the result significant, statistically speaking.

On electricity Palo Alto users were somewhat surer that their rates were favorable. "Lower" drew 47 per cent, "higher" only 17 per cent.

But on garbage rates there was an almost even split among the four possible answers. "Lower" had 28 per cent this time, "higher" 20 per cent.

The number of "no opinions" is interesting. On water there were 25 per cent; electricity, 18 per cent; garbage, 30 per cent.

Question 7: Do you think your city taxes would be higher or lower if the city didn't own the water, gas, and electricity?

On 45 per cent of Palo Alto's voters, the utilities' contribution of almost half the city's operating fund had made no impression whatever.

Sixteen per cent of these guessed that taxes would be lower; 3 per cent same; 26 per cent had no opinion at all. The rest correctly said taxes would be higher if the utilities were not in public hands.

TO THE LADIES!

As for the ladies of Palo Alto, the statistical results of the poll tend to bear out a suspicion born after the first two or three noses had swept into the air, after the first two or three had gurgled, "Oh, you'd better ask my husband questions like that!"

(It must be admitted that there *were* numbers of intelligent women encountered, and many who were civil as well, and that psychologists have proved that women are just as intelligent as men—but here are the figures anyhow.)

Women consistently had from 7 to 19 per cent more "no opinions" than men. The electricity rates question was the single exception. On this about the same percentage of women had no opinion as men.

Women gave from 4 to 28 per cent fewer correct answers than men.

Women gave, in most instances, from 4 to 32 per cent more wrong answers than men.

Only on the debt and taxes question (has debt risen, have taxes risen in the past five years) were women and men about equally wrong and about equally right.

Let the sociologists make the most of this.

COMMUTERS

While the number of commuters in the sample was proportionate to the number in the population—5 per

cent—the number of commuters questioned is nevertheless too small to make statistically water-tight statements as to the commuters' relative civic I.Q. However, the figures do seem to show that Palo Alto commuters are wrong no more often than any other element of the population, and right just as frequently. They tend, besides, to have fewer "no opinion" answers than those who both live and work in the same city. This seems to explode the theory that commuters necessarily make less ideal local citizens than do the stay-at-homes.

II. Portrait of Palo Alto Voter: After Receiving Municipal Report

Judging by the section on municipal reporting in the *Municipal Year-book*,² the city of Palo Alto did a well-nigh unprecedented thing when it decided not only to issue an attractive, readable municipal report, but also to distribute it to every household in the city. Most cities do not issue reports; many of the reports that are issued are dull, statistics-impregnated affairs; almost always, even the good reports are distributed to a haphazard, limited mailing list consisting of a few interested souls within the city, and many more interested persons outside it. In other words, a municipal report to citizens seldom reaches the ordinary citizen. In Palo Alto, however, it did. The city mailed a report to every utility user, and it spent the not inconsiderable sum of \$604³ to do so.

²Chicago, International City Manager's Association.

³This figure does not include the services

Poll number two, taken four weeks after the report was mailed, proved that a very large number of citizens actually did receive and see the report. As many as 67 per cent of those questioned remembered receiving it. Others unquestionably received it and did not remember it. Some men did not see it because their wives forgot to show it to them.

The report readers liked the report. At least they said they did. Of those who remembered seeing the book, 79 per cent said they had actually read it. Almost every one of these readers thought it was "interesting," rather than "boring." Only 9 per cent answered "no" to the question: "Do you think the report told the whole truth about city government?" In response to the question, "Do you think city reports are a waste of money, or would you like to receive one every year?" only 6 per cent sourly thought reports are a waste of money. Eighty-two per cent (12 per cent had no opinion) expressly endorsed the idea of receiving a report.

One prime result of the report was a large, significant shift in opinion on the question, "Do you think you're getting your money's worth from the city taxes you pay?" An additional 15 per cent answered "yes" after they had read the report. The shift was entirely out of the "no opinion" group. This seems to suggest that an attractive municipal report will at least predispose the citizen more

of the author of the report, who is manager of the Palo Alto Chamber of Commerce. His time was given to the city without cost.

favorably toward the city government as a whole.

DID THEY LEARN?

Nevertheless, the results of the second poll show that the Palo Alto voter learned very little more about his city government as a result of reading this report. Such learning as occurred on each subject appears to be directly correlated with the amount of space and graphic material on the subject contained within the report.

The Palo Alto report "played up" at greatest length the city's utilities, their low rates, their contribution to municipal finance. Sixteen inches—two and a quarter pages—were devoted to the subject, including some excellent drawings. Consequently, the greatest improvement in municipal knowledge was shown on the question, "Do you think your city taxes would be higher or lower if the city didn't own the water, gas, and electricity?" The "no opinion" group decreased 12 per cent from December to February, and the "higher" group increased 13 per cent.

On the three other utilities questions, relating to the fairness of water, electricity, and garbage rates, there were only small increases in the number giving the correct answer. After reading the report, 5 per cent more thought water rates were lower than had previously thought so (the shift came entirely out of the "no opinion" group, and not out of the "higher" group). "Lower" answers on the electricity question increased 7 per cent in the second poll; they increased a poor

4 per cent on the garbage rates question.

A fairly good, but not conclusively significant, improvement was registered on the question dealing with salaries of mayor and city councilmen. (There were two allusions to this point in the report, one highly pictorial.) An additional 7 per cent opined that the city fathers were unpaid, after having read the city report.

On the hospital question the shift was so small as to have no significance. (The report devoted one inch to the subject.) An additional 4 per cent thought the city would not help pay their hospital bill, the report to the contrary notwithstanding!

LEARNING BACKWARDS

The most alarming results were registered on the question on taxes and the question on debt. For here there were two large shifts—in the wrong direction! In spite of the decrease in taxes and the decrease in debt, in spite of the fact that the report devoted five inches to taxes, two inches to debt, and one chart to each, 15 per cent more voters were convinced that taxes were higher after they had been exposed to the report; 9 per cent more were convinced that debt was higher. In each case the shifted opinions came exclusively from the "no opinion" group.

One may only speculate as to the causes for this shift. There was no apparent local occurrence, during the interval between the first poll and the second poll, that would account for so noticeable a swing in public opinion. One explanation only seems

to hold some validity. It will be remembered that between December 1940 and February 1941 the national defense program was increasingly in the news, and that national spending, to say nothing of increased national taxes, was in the air. It seems entirely possible that Palo Alto voters merely transferred their growing impression of national openhandedness to the local scene.

If this interpretation is correct, if indeed, the results of the polls are at all valid, then the lesson for municipal administrators is grave. It seems clear that if the theory of democratic control of local government is to be translated from theory into practice, then municipal government must teach its citizens more about what is going on—and teach it *better*.

NOTE ON METHODS EMPLOYED IN THESE POLLS

It is easier to tear holes in these results than to mount them on velvet for Science. The questions asked are open to objection as too difficult, unfair, ambiguous, unimportant. But they may also be defended against these objections. It should be remembered, first, that the questions were designed to have some relationship to the contents of the municipal report; thus they were

limited to subjects which had been given some degree of "play" in the report. Second, they were the easiest questions that could be devised without descending to discussions of the weather. Third, they deserted scientific wording purposely, in order to remain intelligible to citizens who think in terms of civic clichés. Fourth, any ambiguities were cleared up by the interviewer in the course of questioning. Finally, while the graduated scale type of testing developed by Thurstone is more scientific, it was not used here because it is not practical for street-corner interviewing.

The sampling method used here is open to all the challenges faced by the Gallup and other well known public opinion polls. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, June 1940, contains a discussion of these pros and cons by an array of experts.

The size of the samples used here is also a limiting factor in the reliability of the results. However, calculations of "confidence limits" show that almost all of the results are well within the 99 times out of 100 range of possibility which is considered a conservative and safe test. Where results do not fall within this confidence level, it has been so indicated in the body of the article.

Finally, Palo Alto is by no means a typical city, nor is its report necessarily typical of the best reports. But the city is typical enough, and its report good enough, to warrant, in my opinion, serious attention to these poll results.

M. R.

I Am an American Day

President Roosevelt has just issued a proclamation making May 18 "I Am an American" Day. This is the third successive year the day has been set aside for celebration of the privileges of American citizenship and many communities plan special ceremonies. Civic Clubs, patriotic organizations, fraternal societies, schools, social agencies, and other interested groups of citizens will direct programs. Observance of the day has special significance for two groups of citizens: those born in this country who have recently attained full rights of citizenship by reaching their twenty-first birthday and those who have recently become citizens through naturalization.

Common Sense at the Courthouse

"Henrico voters . . . today have what many experts call the best county government in America . . . getting more for their money."

By KARL DETZER

ARE your county taxes too high, the returns on them microscopic? Is your county overstaffed with mediocre men who play politics with your money?

The answer very likely is yes, unless you happen to live in one of a small handful of counties where citizens tired of wasteful, archaic methods have put common sense into the courthouse.

Henrico, Virginia, is one of these. Among the 3,053 counties in America exactly six have county managers. Henrico adopted the plan seven years ago. Perhaps twenty others use variations on the manager idea. A hundred or so, in spite of creaking, outworn systems, succeed in giving their taxpayers fairly good government at fairly low cost.

The vast majority, however, charge outrageous taxes for little value received; with millions of dollars invested, they often are managed less capably than a small-town store. This is due partly to outmoded statutes, horse-and-buggy methods, politicians desperately hanging on to a good thing—to patronage, pap, and overstuffed payrolls—and partly to public lethargy. The typical courthouse is a morass of inefficiency, duplication, and lost motion because the voters and taxpayers—you and I—are content to foot the bill.

Henrico voters were not content. They were bold enough to experiment, and today have what many

experts call the best county government in America. They are not paying the lowest taxes in the land but they *are* getting more for their money.

Henrico's manager for seven years was a lanky engineer named Willard F. Day who previously had managed the city of Staunton, Virginia. Before that he had sold paving materials, built highways and bridges, learned his way around.

In Henrico, for \$6,000 a year, he worked twelve hours a day, countenanced no political pressures, made his associates work as hard as he did. Perhaps his outstanding quality was a conviction that public funds should be spent just as frugally as John Average Citizen spends the cash in his own pants pocket. He believed, too, that the rural taxpayer is entitled to as good schools, roads, police and health and fire services, as his city brother, provided he's willing to pay for them.

A few months ago the federal government called Day out of Henrico, made him responsible for municipal efficiency in the boom towns around national defense projects. To succeed him the county board appointed S. J. Mahaffey, manager of the town of Franklin, Virginia. Thirty-seven years old, Mahaffey had studied law, engineering, and accounting at Pennsylvania State College and the University of Richmond, taken a night school course in plant management.

He, too, had built bridges and highways.

He is carrying on Day's methods, has made no change in county personnel, plans none. Why should he, he asks, when the county has lived within its budget ever since the manager form of government took charge?

Although taxes are higher this year due to a court order which took from the county its most valuable taxable property and gave it to the city of Richmond, Henrico's tax rate still is 3 per cent lower than it was under the old form of county government. At the same time it has increased its services to its people an average of 43 per cent. It has increased its water and sewer service, its paved highways, school equipment and number of teachers, fire protection, traffic patrol, and public health work to that extent. It did this by consolidating departments, abolishing useless jobs, substituting business practice for political expediency.

Henrico almost surrounds the city of Richmond but under Virginia law stops at the city limits, profits by no city taxes. More than half its 30,000 people make their living from agriculture; 30 per cent are Negro. Its 240 square miles embrace some five square miles of Richmond suburbs, six villages, 1,350 farms. It calls itself the "dairy county of Virginia." Its soil, population, wealth, and industries are average.

But its government is not. First, it operates on a balanced budget. In eight years it has built three water-works systems, modernized and increased its police force, placed health, sanitation, finance, and public works

on a business basis. More than half its bonded indebtedness of \$900,000 is for sewer and water plants in thickly settled areas, a third is for schools; it has issued no road bonds since it adopted manager government, is paying off its debts at the rate of \$37,500 a year.

TAX REDUCTIONS

It has transformed a chaotic, unrelated, overlapping group of offices which collected and spent public funds into a modern department of finance. It has abolished a fee system whereby five elected officers formerly pocketed \$33,000 a year, has substituted salaries of \$15,800. It has snatched nearly 1,000 children out of schoolhouse firetraps, built \$500,000 worth of new schools, has increased its teaching staff from 200 to 256, raised teachers' salaries 23 per cent, wages of other employees an average of 10 per cent.

And at the same time it has reduced taxes!

Its tax rate, based on 45 per cent of fair market value of real estate, last year amounted to 49½ cents on each \$100 of actual property value, as compared to a state average of 74 cents, a national average of \$1.13. Thus the owner of a \$5,000 farm paid \$24.75; a suburbanite in a \$10,000 home paid \$49.50 and got water and sewer service, protection by modern fire and police departments.

Henrico has a short ballot. Instead of the former twenty-five elected independent officers each running his own department, buying his own supplies, appointing his own deputies, building his own political

fences, it now elects only seven—commonwealth attorney, clerk, sheriff, and four supervisors. These four (at present an insurance agent, two doctors, and a farm manager) receive \$400 a year each, meet twice a month, serve as a county board of directors. They determine broad policies, enact ordinances, set tax rates and salaries, and appoint the school board, planning board, and county manager.

They are not concerned with jobs for ditch diggers, clerks, or police, or the trivia which too often takes up most of a board's time. Unlike the average board, with a member elected from each township, these four are elected at large. Instead of investing full-time executive functions in part-time committees, it simply tells its manager, "That's your job. Go to it. We don't care whom you hire or fire. All we want is results."

Day did no "housecleaning" when he took over. He told county employees: "If you are capable, willing to work and to forget politics, willing to adjust yourselves to modern methods, stay and help me clean up this mess."

Nearly half the present employees were inherited from the former regime. Others, chiefly political appointees in nonessential jobs, got out and got out fast. This was particularly true of the highway force, although the chief engineer today, who happens to be an excellent executive, is one of the "inherited" staff.

Formerly, as in most counties, the road department was burdened with welfare cases. Scores of these were actually unemployables, men too old

or too sick to work, some of them carried on the payroll at ten cents an hour, neither expecting nor expected to do any real work. Many others received twenty cents an hour, were not worth it.

"Road building's a construction job, not a charity ward," Manager Day said; he ordered the welfare department to handle its own cases, the highway division to employ only able-bodied men. Today the hundred road workers receive from thirty to fifty cents an hour.

ROAD ADMINISTRATION

Henrico's roads formerly were built and maintained by four separate organizations, each directed by an *elected* supervisor, each with its own foremen, labor, and equipment. These now are merged into one force, directed by one engineer. He built a single plant to house and maintain all road equipment. This plant not only services highway trucks and machines, but repairs and paints the thirty-six school busses and twelve police cars. The plant cost \$10,000, saves half that much each year, gives the public better service.

The county several years ago bought sixty acres of farmland, from which it digs sand, gravel, and topsoil. It gets gravel at thirty-two cents a ton, which includes a charge of one per cent a month to retire investment. Average price of gravel from commercial plants previously had been \$1.25 a ton. Savings in taxpayers' money on this item amount to more than \$10,000 a year.

Thanks to efficient operation, Henrico pays no road tax, its share of the state gas tax covering all highway ex-

pense. It has 430 miles of roads, 79 per cent hard-surfaced. It buys no land for any highway, no matter how powerful politically an owner may be.

"We need plenty of new roads and plenty of widened roads where people are willing to give the land," Day told his board. "Land purchase just isn't in our budget." In the past four years property owners have presented land for forty-three miles of new road, at no charge.

CENTRALIZED PURCHASING

In most counties the sheriffs, school superintendents, clerks, and road force make their own purchases of materials and supplies—with taxpayers' money. True, these bills usually are approved by the supervisors. Even so, frugality and political expediency rarely go hand in hand. It's hard for an elective officer to turn down a salesman with a thousand votes up his sleeve, even if his price is a few cents high.

Henrico buys everything from tractors to thumbtacks through a single purchasing agent. He is an appointive, not elected, officer. He is not interested in votes, simply in keeping his job, and his job consists in getting more for the money. Last year he shopped carefully on 1,565 orders, spent \$250,000, saved 20 per cent over old-time methods.

In one year on gasoline and asphalt alone Henrico saved \$15,000. The county discounts its bills, a procedure impossible when it is necessary to wait for the next supervisors' meeting to approve them. Last year's discounts in Henrico amounted to \$1,208.

A planning commission with broad

powers, appointed by the supervisors, divides the county into residential, agricultural, industrial, and business zones, thus protecting investments. Its surveys, rather than local political pressure, determine the location of highways, parks, water and sewer systems, school bus routes, recreational areas, and subdivisions.

The county's fire department consists of two modern trucks, five paid men, 150 volunteers, and besides it has a working arrangement with Richmond to call on city fire forces when needed, at an hourly charge. Last year it made 585 fire prevention inspections, held forty-six school fire drills, responded to 104 alarms. Over a five-year period its per capita loss averaged fifty cents, compared with almost two dollars for the nation at large.

Thirty-three full-time and eight part-time policemen, appointed by the manager, patrol the county highways twenty-four hours a day in radio cars. The sheriff, nominal police head, recently asked to be relieved of that particular duty, and the county employed a trained chief, who installed modern fingerprint and identification systems, sends his men to FBI schools for instruction, and maintains a pistol range.

When Farmer John Smith storms into the Henrico County courthouse, demanding to know why the tax is higher on his forty acres than John Jones pays on his forty, the finance officer has the answer ready. From his files he pulls two large cards, one for Smith's farm, one for Jones's.

On each is drawn an accurate map of the assessed property, showing roads, woodland, ditches, hills, and

type of soil. On each is pasted an actual photograph of farm buildings. Each house is described in exact detail. The finance officer is able to point out that the Smith house has hardwood floors, a tile bathroom, an oil-burner furnace, insulated walls, a glassed porch—none of which blessings belong to Farmer Jones.

"Besides," he may add, "Jones has seventeen acres of worthless swamp land on his place and every inch of yours is good soil. He has no timber and your standing trees are worth \$400. His barn, although it looks fine in the picture, was built in 1894 and is ready to fall down. Yours is only five years old. You are a lucky man, Mr. Smith, compared with Mr. Jones."

Usually the objector is satisfied; if not, he may lay his complaint before a board of appeals, which will correct injustices.

Delinquent taxes in the county have dropped from 22 per cent in 1933 to 10 per cent last year, thanks in part to a "budget plan" worked out with local banks. Citizens who find themselves unable to pay their taxes in a lump sum need only drop into the nearest bank, figure out a

budget scheme they can afford, pay a portion each month.

Three years ago the finance officer discovered that several hundred county employees and persons with whom the county did business were delinquent. In spite of screams of protest, he quietly withheld salaries and payment of bills until tax payments were arranged under the budget plan.

Henrico's citizens last year paid taxes of \$547,000. State gasoline taxes accounted for forty miles of new hard surface on county roads. Bonds issued by the five sanitary districts paid for 90,000 feet of new water mains, 33,700 feet of new sewers, 100 new fire hydrants. Expenditures for the twelve months were \$3,700 under income.

Naturally the voters were satisfied. Last election, every candidate for county office went on record approving business methods in the courthouse. They knew that their people, having tasted efficiency in government, would not return to the expensive luxury of political maneuvering at public expense.

Now . . . in *your* county . . . ?

Printing Scandals Investigated

New York and Missouri inquiries demonstrate urgent need for thorough-going analysis of present public printing procurement methods.

By ESTAL E. SPARLIN
University of Arkansas

TWO states, New York and Missouri, and the nation's largest city have just undergone excruciating printing scandals, "investigated" the problem, indicted a few "culprits," issued reports, and are now in the process of settling back to "normal."

The storm first broke in New York City where Russell Forbes' efficient purchasing organization became more and more weary of trying to bring some order out of the printing chaos. For several years the Department of Purchase had been maneuvering and reorganizing and pleading with the printing industry in an attempt to bring printing administration and costs in line with other materials procured by the department. Being thwarted at almost every turn and having evidence of some corruption, it decided to throw the problem open by ordering an investigation.

Under the direction of William B. Herlands, New York City's commissioner of investigation, and Mr. Forbes, commissioner of purchase, the whole problem of public printing procurement in New York City was thoroughly investigated during 1939 and 1940. The report, dated November 9, 1940, and prepared principally by Louis E. Yavner, examiner in the Department of Investigation, and Albert Pleydell, deputy commissioner of purchase, is intriguing yet prudent

from the first section on "Pattern for Plunder," to the last page of the "Blueprint for Reform."

The title of the first chapter is taken from an advertisement of the New York Common Council of 1693 in which the council was attempting to entice a printer to the city by offering £40 per annum salary and "the benefit besides what serves the publick." This chapter is well summarized in the following paragraph:

While William Bradford [early city printer] received approximately \$200 a year, printers who monopolized city printing during recent generations became millionaires at the expense of the city. At least three large estates along the Jersey shore are monuments to city printers' unjust enrichment. Frequent investigations have demonstrated that for almost a century city printing has been characterized by collusion among printers, political brokerage, extravagance, gross inefficiency, and willful waste of public funds. Each investigation has revealed that the same pattern for plunder was followed by each successive dictator of city printing.

The chapter shows that in the history of New York City printing since 1860, investigation, reform, and corruption are written upon each other like a palimpsest. Boss Tweed first felt the scratch of the reformer. Martin B. Brown and Company inherited the printing advantages left by Tweed's elimination and main-

tained them for fifty years, only slightly disturbed by Mayor Have-meyer in 1872, the Lexow Committee in 1894, the Mazet investigation in 1900, the Hervey-McIntyre investigation in 1901, Mayor Gaynor's inquiry in 1910, and Commissioner of Accounts Wallstein's investigation in 1916. Says the report:

City printing procurement has followed the same pattern in good administrations and bad. Most city printers have read a sinister meaning into the offer of the Common Council of 1693 that printers who "settled" in the city to do its printing would have a "benefit besides what serves the publick." Frequent exposures have had no therapeutic effect. Without variation the monopoly has continued from before the days of Tweed until recently. During the past two years . . . the latest monopolistic ring of city printers has been broken; but this result . . . will be little more than temporary unless the basic method of procuring city printing is changed.

The first major phase of the New York City printing investigation was concerned with printing for the Board of Elections. The resulting report lists item after item of inefficiency and corruption. In 1937, for example, the Board of Elections ordered 3,930,000 party enrollment ballots. As 1937 was an off-election year, the board had every reason to believe that there would be a sharp decline in the need for such ballots but no attention was paid to this obvious fact. More than a third of the 3,930,000 ballots were unused.

In the case of the official lists of registered voters, the contract prices in 1937 were as follows: \$3.75 per page in lots of 1,000 copies or less;

\$4.25 per page in lots of 1,001 to 2,000 copies; and \$6.00 per page in lots of 2,001 to 4,500 copies. In a number of assembly districts, which required less than 1,000 copies, the board ordered 1,020, 1,060, and 1,080 copies—just enough additional to raise the price fifty cents per page. In other assembly districts, which required less than 2,000 copies, 2,040 and 2,100 copies were ordered—just enough to raise the price \$1.75 per page.

GREAT LOSSES UNCOVERED

"It is difficult to attribute such wasteful methods only to inefficiency," the report comments. "The investigation revealed that the methods and policies which were followed by the Board of Elections in the handling of . . . expenditures for printing, stationery, and supplies caused the city a minimum annual loss of \$100,000 for many years past." As a result, the state legislature enacted a law transferring procurement of these supplies from the Board of Elections to the Department of Purchase with subsequent savings being realized.

After the Board of Elections came the Emergency Relief Bureau investigation. As a result of padded bills and non-compliance with specifications, the Burland Printing Company received large overpayments between March 1935 and May 1938, on orders issued by the New York State Temporary Emergency Relief Administration. When the irregularities, finally admitted by officials of the company, were first discovered it was roughly estimated that the total amount of overcharge was about \$400,000 although, because of "doc-

tored" records (both public and private), it was impossible to ascertain the exact amount. After detailed computations and long negotiations, the Burland Company paid \$225,000 in settlement of the city's claims.

EMPLOYEES INCOMPETENT

This defrauding of the city was done by the manipulation of contracts and bribery of some employees, but was made possible because of utter incompetence of other employees. As an example of the latter, David Blanc, a former electrician, was the printing procurement clerk of the Emergency Relief Bureau from February 1936 to August 1939. It was his duty to write printing specifications for the printing jobs ordered under the contract. Such printing specifications are supposed to state the type face to be used—Bodoni, Cheltenham, Ideal News Face, or any other of a thousand type faces—to fix the measurements of the type, to determine the quality of paper, and many other things. "Blanc," according to the report, "knew virtually nothing about printing. His specifications were therefore seldom to the city's advantage. He relied upon a Burland salesman to advise him in writing them. The most expensive papers were ordered [but seldom delivered]." On one occasion Blanc asked his superiors for a copy of the contract so he could estimate the price of each job, but they intimated to him it was impossible to obtain a copy.

The finance division of the Emergency Relief Bureau employed one Arthur Brodie from 1935 to 1938 as a printing inspector to audit the

printing vouchers. His prior employment experience had been as a general contractor and his inspection consisted only of counting the number of copies delivered. He was completely ignorant of such common printing terms as "composition," "10-point," "off-set printing," and "em." According to the report, a typical extract from Brodie's testimony is as follows:

Q. Have you ever heard that composition can be measured?

A. I suppose you are right.

Q. But you do not know?

A. No, sir.

Q. And you do not know how composition can be measured, do you?

A. No, sir.

Q. Now, tell me what is an "em?"¹

A. 1000.

Q. 1000! What is an "em?" Did you ever hear the word em; not the letter in the alphabet, but the word em?

A. Oh, em.

Q. Yes, did you ever hear that word?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did you hear it?

A. Em?

Q. Yes.

A. That is new to me.

Q. You never heard of it before?

A. Em?

Q. Yes. A word spelled E-M. "E" as in Elizabeth and "M" as in Mary. This is the first time you ever heard that word?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you have no idea what it means?

A. No.

As a result of the investigations,

¹"Em" is the most used unit for measuring type. It is as basic to printing as the gram is to chemistry, the slide rule to engineering, or the sentence to grammar.

definite proof of collusion in the bidding for city printing contracts was uncovered and up to June 1940 twenty-two firms had been disbarred from bidding on city contracts.

The "Blueprint for Reform" is the establishment of a New York City Printing Authority which would organize and equip its own printing plant to produce about 60 per cent of the total amount of printing now bought by the city. The remaining 40 per cent would be obtained commercially by the appropriate procurement offices from the printing industry. "A municipal printing plant, established on this basis, would reduce the city's annual printing bill by at least a quarter of a million dollars. It would result also in equally important indirect administrative benefits."

NEW YORK STATE INVESTIGATION

The odor of the New York City printing scandal soon drifted up the Hudson to Albany. In February 1940 Governor Lehman of New York appointed F. E. Crane a Moreland Commissioner² to investigate the state printing procurement situation. Crane had just retired as chief justice of the New York Court of Appeals.

This investigation differed somewhat from the New York City inquiry. In the city it was the procurement agency that was taking the lead in the investigation, while in the

state the procurement agency was being investigated along with the contractors and their questionable methods.

The state's investigation functioned during the spring of 1940, causing the indictment of several individuals and bringing about considerable savings on the 1940 contract as a result of two interim reports issued in April and July. Open hearings were held the week of August 6, 1940, on the question of the feasibility of a state printing plant, at which Dr. Lawrence E. Schmeckebier, of Brookings Institution, and the writer appeared as expert witnesses. Also appearing were representatives of the New York Employing Printers Association, various labor unions, and several other groups. The printed report was issued December 17, 1940.

New York uses the class system of contracting for its printing. This system has been used by almost all the states some time or other during the last century but has been abandoned by most of them because of its inherent defects. It consists of placing great quantities and varied kinds of printing into a few large classes and making contracts for a year or two years on the basis of the operation involved rather than on the basis of a specific completed job.³

The class system encourages monopoly of the state's printing needs and most of the states using this system have had monopolistic conditions existing more or less regularly. For instance, one firm, the J. B. Lyons Company of Albany, fur-

²A Moreland Commissioner is one appointed in accordance with the provisions of section 8 of the executive law—the so-called Moreland act—which gives the Governor power to appoint "one or more persons . . . to examine and investigate the management and affairs of any department, board, bureau, or commission of the state."

³See author's "Administration of Public Printing in the States," *The University*

nished almost all the printing for the state of New York continuously from 1901 to 1931. In the latter year another firm (the Burland Printing Company) placed a few bids at extremely low prices and procured some of the work. The investigation of 1940 showed that these bids by the Burland Printing Company were merely for the purpose of "scaring" the monopolistic firm into an agreement to divide the state's printing with it. The bluff proved successful and from 1931 to 1940 the two companies, through collusive bidding, monopolized the state's printing.

The two companies contended during the investigation that they made full delivery of quantities as ordered, did not substitute paper and did not pad bills, and the evidence seemed to support these contentions. One company representative stated that there were enough loopholes in the contracts to permit of enormous profits in performance.

From the beginning of the state of New York in 1777, the same general cycle of corruption, investigation, reform, and corruption again has gone on continuously almost as rhythmically as in New York City. Major scandals and reforms came in 1843, 1846, 1870, 1872, 1881, 1892, and 1900. An investigating committee in 1913 had the following to say: "The printing law . . . possesses not one redeeming feature. It fails absolutely to protect the state and its provisions even force the State Printing Board to enter into contracts which are disadvantageous. . . .

of Missouri Studies, Vol. XII, No. 4, October, 1937, pp. 12ff, for an analysis of the defects of such a system.

There is evidence of collusion of the most clumsy description between alleged competitors."

Governor Miller made some changes in 1921 and stated in part: "It will thus be possible to introduce real competition in the bidding for departmental printing and to give those best equipped for doing the different classes of work opportunity to bid for the same."

Through all these sad cycles no basic change has been made in the printing procurement system.

The first paragraph of the report of the Moreland Commissioner reads:

For over a century the history of the procurement of New York State printing has been a narrative of recurrent scandals and corruption. Various favored printers successively enjoyed virtual monopolies of the state work. Although great technological advances were made in the production of printing, the general pattern for mulcting the state remained unchanged for one hundred years.

It is rather difficult to reconcile this first paragraph with the final paragraph of the report which says:

I recommend that the state should not establish its own printing plant until it has thoroughly explored, and tested for a reasonable time, the ability of the Printing Bureau to secure reasonable prices and adequate services from the printing industry.

One would think that a century of "exploring" might be a "reasonable time" upon which to base conclusions.

MISSOURI INVESTIGATION

Although the Missouri investigation has been less elaborate and less productive thus far than those in

New York, it is almost as spectacular. At this writing, the investigating committee's report is available but the situation is still at a stalemate because the contracts are tied up in the State Supreme Court.

Missouri uses the same class system of contracting as does New York State but the administrative arrangement is complicated because a Printing Board composed of the secretary of state, state treasurer, and state auditor, all elected officials, lets the contracts and controls the printing procurement. A few years ago Missouri created a state purchasing office and centralized the procurement of most commodities "except printing."

There has never been any appreciable amount of competition for Missouri state printing. Contracts are let by the biennium and on most occasions, until 1940, there has been only one bidder.

The situation in Missouri is rather peculiar. There the same printing plant has had state printing almost since the Civil War. This plant changes ownership, however, when the administration changes. At one time the building had four different company names on the front.

For the first time in many years there were two bids instead of one to be opened by the Printing Board at the June 1940 letting. When the bids were opened it was discovered that the bid of the Von Hoffman Press of St. Louis was approximately \$100,000 less than the Jefferson City plant on an \$800,000 contract. All bids were rejected. The basis for rejection was an alleged "oversight" whereby specifications

failed to designate the method of typesetting to be used, although neither the specifications of earlier years nor the printing law itself restricted the method.

The St. Louis firm asked the State Supreme Court to issue a writ of mandamus requiring the Printing Board to award it the contract but no decision has been reached as yet. In the meantime, the Jefferson City firm continues to supply the state's printing needs under a temporary contract.

Governor Stark, although he had no authority over the printing procurement of the state, ordered an independent investigation of the situation on November 7, 1940. Edward T. Miller, of Chicago, technical printing consultant, and the accounting firm of Ernst and Ernst of St. Louis, were employed to make the investigation. As Governor Stark was to retire from office in January, only a superficial investigation could be made and the report, dated January 6, 1941, is based upon these findings.

The report did not deal with questions of contracting methods and monopolistic bidding but it did condemn the state printing law as "loose, archaic, inadequate, contradictory, and both wasteful and uneconomical."

In a spot-check of bills submitted by the printing company during the last biennium, the report stated that there had been found "technical irregularities indicating excesses in charges paid by the state amounting to several thousand dollars. One can only conjecture what the indicated excesses paid by the state might

amount to had time permitted the extension of the survey."

The report recommended revision of the law to clarify it, so as to provide modern business methods and proper and modern accounting procedures for the recording of printing and paper transactions in order that the state may have adequate control over the purchase of and payment for all printed matter and paper.

If these appalling situations exist in the three governments that have been investigated during the last year, it causes one to wonder just how many millions of dollars are being wasted in the thousands of other governmental units, many of which have never had thoroughgoing inquiries.

These investigations prove almost beyond doubt that, where any substantial amount of printing is involved, ordinary procurement methods will not give satisfactory results and that the purchasing office would do well to recognize this fact and treat printing procurement as a specialized problem.

It seems almost axiomatic, in view of the cyclical process of corruption, investigation, reform, corruption, which has been going on for over a century, that there is urgent need for some type of automatic checking system to play state plant against the contractors.⁴

Badly needed now is a thoroughgoing analysis of the state and national government-owned printing plants to ascertain if they are being conducted as efficiently as possible.

⁴See author's "Public Ownership versus State Purchasing: the case of Printing," *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 2, April, 1940, pp. 211-221, for a suggested plan.

EDITORIALS

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The president described the situation succinctly. His statement, in part, follows:

Military and naval strategy has been the controlling factor in determining the location of many of these new defense establishments. As a result posts and plants have been necessarily located near communities without adequate public facilities and services for the large numbers of workers who arrived to construct them and who will be needed to operate the new establishments. There have been shortages of housing, insufficient sanitary and health facilities, overcrowding of transportation services, and inadequate recreational facilities. In fact, this shortage of essential public facilities has handicapped our rearmament effort in some areas.

The government has already embarked on a defense housing program, but that is not enough. We must do more to obtain the most effect from new plants, new houses, and, most important, from new workers. There is need, in some areas, for improved streets and roads to carry the increased traffic, additional water supply and sewerage systems to service the new structures, and better health, safety, and welfare facilities to benefit the new workers and their families.

The provision of such community facilities has always been a local responsibility. It still is today; cities generally have been straining to meet the problem. Yet we must face the fact we cannot expect local governments to assume all the risk of financing the entire cost of providing new public facilities for the defense program.

After the defense program comes to an end, these new facilities may not be needed. This increase in operating and service costs may also be much greater than a co-existent rise in local public revenues from an increased business activity.

Chicago—Metropolis in the Making

"Until Chicago demonstrates a genuine attempt to make good administratively and politically it is difficult to expect suburban and down-state help for a real program to reorganize Greater Chicago."

By ALBERT LEPAWSKY
University of Chicago

CHICAGO is scared. It is scared because it has stopped growing. America's second city and the world's fourth, Chicago barely escaped being one of the nation's declining cities in the 1940 census along with Philadelphia, Cleveland, St. Louis, Boston, Pittsburgh.

What a tight squeeze Chicago had in the 1940 census, few people realize. The original calculation showed the city to have lost 8,000. On a recheck preliminary figures showed a gain of 8,000, and the corrected figures now available show an increase of only 20,000. New York gained a half million, Los Angeles a quarter million, Baltimore 50,000, and even Detroit gained 50,000—Detroit, which Chicagoans have regarded as a one-industry upstart town, whose automobile factories should have been established in Chicago anyhow!

No wonder Chicago has the census jitters. At the beginning of the last decade Chicago was expected to increase from 3,376,000 to 4,000,000 by 1940. So concerned are some of the city's merchants and real estate men, politicians and planners, that there is already hushed talk about the possibility of a declining population figure for 1950 or 1960.

Here is a city which has flourished

and still depends upon expansion, a boom town that has relied from its very inception upon speculative rises in values and continued increases in population, a metropolis with enough subdivided and improved lots still within its boundaries to house almost twice its present population, a city that depends upon the maintenance of these land values as a base for its property taxes but whose tax collections are among the most delinquent in the country—and now it looks forward to the possibility of a levelling of its population, to shrunken values, to reduced revenues.

For this apparent reversal of Chicago's municipal history there is one good explanation. Chicago's population hasn't really stopped growing. What has happened is that the city merely stopped annexing the suburbs which have been draining its population for several decades. And paradoxical as it may seem, its population is really greater than the figures show for while its resident population is only 3,400,000 it has a total day population of 4,000,000 if the tens of thousands who come to the city daily to work, shop, go to school, or play are included.

Even suburban figures for the 1940 census, however, are not as promising as was expected. Cook

County, which contains some eighty-two incorporated cities, towns, and villages adjacent to Chicago and ten more on the fringes of this municipal polybus, gained but 80,000, or less than 2 per cent over 1930, as compared with a 30 per cent increase between 1920 and 1930. Still this was a higher increase than Chicago's one-half of one per cent increase between 1930 and 1940 as compared with its 25 per cent increase between 1920 and 1930. What the increase will be for the whole Chicago metropolitan district as defined by the Census Bureau will be known shortly. But the fifty-mile region of Metropolitan Chicago as defined by University of Chicago studies shows an increase of only 177,000 as compared with an increase of eight times that many between 1920 and 1930.

HOUSING LAGS

Housing figures are an even better indication of the suburban drift than are the census data. While some 16,500 houses were erected in Chicago between 1930 and 1940, they were hardly sufficient to replace those which were demolished or had become uninhabitable. In five wards extending westward from Chicago's Loop, new houses have not appeared for years. By contrast suburban building is booming. In the inner suburbs of Cook County building permit figures for any single month are at least double those in Chicago.

Pending refinement of the 1940 statistics, it is obvious to all who observe events in Greater Chicago that the dormitory areas around Chicago are capturing more and more of the city's citizens.

What is most disturbing to those who are concerned with the future of Chicago as an organized community, smoothly functioning and well governed, is the startling fact that the largest increases in population and the heaviest building activities are going on outside incorporated municipal areas, whether they be the city or its suburbs. Not only Chicago but her suburban municipalities are being deserted for the interstitial, unincorporated areas between the suburban arms and legs that fling themselves outward from the city along each main railway line and principal highway. Forty per cent of Cook County's gains were not in suburban cities and villages but in the country districts, and the situation was, on the average, similar in the other metropolitan counties of the Chicago region.

This does not mean that Chicago is going rural, although one might suspect this from the persistence of farm acreage in the peripheral areas within the city boundaries themselves, or from the growing number of gentlemen's estates and well-to-do family farms that are coming to be dotted over the whole of Metropolitan Chicago. What it does mean is that Chicagoans are deserting both the city and the suburbs. At almost every highway crossroad outside incorporated municipalities, there stand mute symbols of the new metropolitan drift to unincorporated areas in the form of an increasing number of RFD mail boxes, like sparsely aligned recruits in the better country suburbs, or more numerous aligned in the more frugal and jerry-built developments of the unincorporated

territories. The movement is especially prominent toward the unincorporated lake shore regions of Indiana and Michigan, known as Michiana.

Not only has Chicago stopped annexing territory, the suburbs have too. To be sure Wilmette in 1940 annexed No Man's Land, a small strip on the North Shore along the otherwise wholly incorporated suburban lake front; and in February 1941 Chicago annexed a section of Norwood Park by a six-vote margin. Except for changes of this type, or the changing of Niles Center's name to the more appropriate Skokie, or the appearance of a few new villages, the municipal map of Greater Chicago looks the same today as it did ten years ago.

Greater Chicago, then, has not only gone suburban it is going rural, and is facing a non-municipal if not an anti-municipal future.

PARK CONSOLIDATIONS

The last decade has shown few advances in *The Government in the Metropolitan Region of Chicago* as described under that title by Charles E. Merriam, Spencer D. Parratt, and myself in 1933.¹

The year following this report, and on the basis of some of its findings, the twenty-two neighborhood park districts of the city were consolidated into the Chicago Park District, which with all of its problems has become Chicago's outstanding local government. Governed by a board appointed by the Mayor and the City Council, it has been effectively managed under the presidency of Robert

J. Dunham. Its convenient network of boulevards, its progressive recreational system, its efficient police force, its excellent traffic control system, its remarkable police school, its in-service training program, its landscaping program, its assistance to Chicago's planning program have led me to admit recently that it might be desirable to consider "annexing" the city to the park district rather than the park district to the city.

Yet this principal achievement of governmental consolidation in Chicago has been limited by considerations similar to those that brought it about a decade ago—failure to consider the whole of Greater Chicago as a fit area for some degree of governmental management. Hopelessly tax-delinquent land and property, that would belong to the city were it not for cumbrous overlapping of taxing agencies no one of which will take the responsibility of securing the city's title, are precisely in those areas the park district needs for the small "back-yard" parks that would help to arrest blight in the city's slums.

Bus routes which are the only profitable limbs in Chicago's transportation system are governed by the park district not by the city, with the effect that the governmental neglect and separatism which have kept the Chicago straphanger hanging for decades is intensified. Completely unrevived have been the 1929 act and 1930 ordinance which permitted Chicago to establish a unified local transportation system not only for the city but for a metropolitan area extending thirty miles beyond

¹University of Chicago Press.

its boundaries. And it is to Uncle Sam rather than to the city that Chicagoans owe their new subway—which still has no tenant. To be sure park district boulevards carry suburbanites to and from the Loop, but only by closing the twelve-lane Lake Front drives entirely to city or local motorists during rush hours. No official traffic count since 1926 is available to tell us exactly what is this suburban burden on the Chicago-supported boulevard system governed by the park district.

So far as park and recreational functions of the metropolitan area are concerned, Chicagoans are depending more and more upon the independent Cook County Forest Preserve District, managing one of the finest forest preserve belts to be found in any metropolis in the country. With intensified use of the automobile in recent years the forest preserves outside the city have become increasingly popular for outings, and the natural setting of suburban Brookfield Zoo is attracting more of those who formerly attended the park district's Lincoln Park Zoo.

It is significant that the county's forest preserve district, as well as the city's park district, operates the only general in-service training program in Metropolitan Chicago. As a matter of fact the relationship between the two suggests the possibility of consolidating them and of establishing a county-wide authority which could handle main highways and boulevards as well as parks on a wider and more rational territorial and financial base. Such a base would conform more to Greater Chicago than does the city or park district

without at the same time exhausting the 5 per cent debt limit of the forest preserve district; and already Chicago has the precedent of a park district whose highway functions are as important as its recreational services.

That it is essential for Chicago to begin thinking in this direction is indicated by the fact that there is now pending in the state legislature a proposal for an additional level of government, a county highway authority to be supported largely by tolls. This would be an overlapping government with separate police powers in addition to the city, the park district, and the forest preserve district, and in addition also to Cook County itself.

COUNTY ADMINISTRATION

During the last decade Cook County has had a checkered career. Recognizing the drift to its unincorporated areas, the county has enacted a system of county-wide zoning outside incorporated areas. But unsafe and unwise structures continue to make their appearance in the suburbs. Chicagoans are beginning to realize that the hovels of Little Hell on the near North Side are quite livable compared to the shacks in some of the suburban mushroom towns; and the lack of county-wide health and fire fighting services is a hazard which has already begun to take its toll in the county, and threatens still more serious disasters. During the decade the county lost its relief functions to the city of Chicago and to the townships, which constitute still another layer of government outside Chicago.

The county's administrative system generally has made little progress, the most disappointing step being a reversal in the taxing reform made during the early part of the decade under County Assessor J. L. Jacobs. There are today six separately elected "bosses" for Chicago and Cook County's taxing machinery: county assessor, County Board of Tax Appeals, county clerk, county court judge, county treasurer or collector, and the state's attorney, none of whom will accept responsibility for clearing up the serious tax delinquency situation of the city.

Far from feeling that it is a proper area to express the governmental aspirations of Greater Chicago, the county has been dwindling in the minds of Chicagoans as a suitable district for their municipal government. In fact there was suggested in 1934 a scheme to detach the northern part of Cook County in order to escape not only Chicago's "hoodlumism," but also the taxes levied on Chicagoans and used to support the city services rendered to the swank, the socially prominent, and the civic-minded who live in the suburbs but work in the city. On second thought, the cost and inconvenience of maintaining another set of county offices outside the city itself offered a poor prospect to the city-minded suburbanites, many of whom are taking an increasing part in fostering municipal reforms in Chicago.

Smaller in area than the county but large enough to include the city and almost all Cook County suburbs is the Chicago Sanitary District, governed by a separately elected

Board of Trustees and having a separate municipal existence. The Chicago Sanitary District gained notoriety in the '20's for padded payrolls and the McCormick Road bridle path but the district came through the '30's as one of Chicago's most efficient governments. Indeed its sanitary engineers have always been among the outstanding experts in the country. Under federal supervision its extensive PWA grants and construction work have been effectively administered. As though it desires to clear its escutcheon entirely, the sanitary district is now seeking to hand over its notorious white elephant, McCormick Road, and its policing to county authorities.

CITY AND SCHOOL PROBLEMS

It is in the city government and its coterminous but independently governed Chicago School District that the weightiest problems have been faced and the most serious controversies waged in the last few years. Although there have been some advances on the administrative and planning side, notably the integration and reorganization of the city's Law Department and the establishment of the new City Plan Commission (containing the heads of the park district, the county, and the sanitary district), the city's achievements in the last ten years have been largely those of leadership in the political realm. Chicago's mayors during this period have proved to be able integrators of conflicting urban groups during a period of state-wide party conflicts and intense national travail. Chicago's political leaders, however, have not

during this decade carried their organizing and integrating genius as far as they may during the coming decade into the realm of governmental reorganization, civic education, and public understanding of the principle that good administration is good politics.

To some extent the New Deal has begun to knock the props out of the precinct captains by doing as a matter of right for the common citizen the welfare services which he has enjoyed as a matter of political patronage, and some city leaders in Chicago are getting the ear of both the people and the politicians on these very issues.

Until the city of Chicago demonstrates a genuine and continuous attempt to make good on its own both administratively and politically, it is difficult to expect suburban and down-state help for a real program to reorganize Greater Chicago, whether it involves the six overlapping major governments, the one hundred towns and three hundred other local governments in Cook County, or the fifteen hundred local authorities in Metropolitan Chicago.

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS OVERSHADOWED

And there are national and international problems before us that threaten to inundate municipal and metropolitan affairs. Who knows what will be the effect of mass bombing, of war and its aftermath, upon the suburban and urban trend? What kind of schemes regarding governmental areas will emerge from

either the victory of Fascist statism, or the collectivism of an embattled democracy which in both war and peace depends more and more upon the dirty shirts of the city as well as upon the white collars of the suburbs? What will be the effects of the example of post-war Metropolitan London in a reconstructed Britain?

In the United States what will the continuation of federal grants-in-aid and the possible development of minimum national standards of local functions do to the states and cities? And what effect will the weakening of state activities have, especially on state line metropolitan areas like Chicagoland's Illiana whose only joint authority now is the almost functionless Illinois-Indiana Harbor Authority?

What strength will be lent to the newer metropolitan and regional trends by federal regional authorities like the TVA, by the decentralizing program of federal agencies, by army camps and defense centers that dot the Chicago region. And who can foresee the effects of technological transformations like long-range transmission of electrical power, swifter transportation, the newer alloys and plastics upon both the place of production and the way of living of metropolitan man.

One thing is certain. The arm of administration is lengthening and the area of government grows apace. Chicago's government must go metropolitan or the city must continue to be a metropolis merely in the making.

Researcher's Digest: April

Problems of representing Detroit; reporting and what's wrong with it; experts endorse professional civil service director; Virginia's tax-paid research.

UPSTATE vs. downstate, city vs. country, are only two of the tags frequently used to describe the big cities' chronic representation troubles in state legislatures. Concerned with the unrepresentativeness of Detroit's representatives at Michigan's capital, the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research** has recently turned out a series of studies bearing on such legislative ailments. The latest is *Redistricting Detroit for Representation in the State Legislature* (Report No. 156).

The bureau singles out five Detroit problems: necessity for electing as many as seventeen representatives at large on a partisan ticket, numerical under-representation of Detroit, habit of voting for candidates because they have last names made politically potent by some entirely unrelated predecessor on the political scene, impracticability of voting machines because of the large number of primary election candidates, inadequacy of the individuals elected to represent the city.

The bureau lists and discusses all the various suggestions for redistricting, which it deems an essential reform measure.

Of Reports and Reporters

Turn about being fair play, **New Haven Taxpayers, Inc.**, in its January bulletin, scathingly criticized the city of New Haven's latest annual report, but sent its subscribers a questionnaire at the same time asking them to criticize the bureau's reporting practices.

The bureau fared much better than the city. Measured by some twenty criteria for "model" annual reports which have been promulgated by the

International City Managers' Association, the New Haven city report was given the severe rating of 30 per cent by the bureau. Some of the report's conspicuous defects: excessive length, excessive tardiness, lack of pictorial or graphic material, lack of organization, vagueness, excessive detail in some spots, too little detail in others, puny distribution.

Its subscribers, on the other hand, offered the bureau's bulletins a general pat on the back. Of those who returned the questionnaire, 80 to 90 per cent read all the bureau's releases from cover to cover; 90 per cent thought the technical subjects were treated in sufficiently understandable style.

Thumbs Down on Commissions

A telegram to six authorities on civil service administration was the means by which the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** elicited expert opinions on a proposed vital amendment to the Rhode Island civil service law. The wire: "Present Rhode Island civil service law provides administration by a professional director selected by competitive examination with advisory lay commission. Proposed amendment provides administration by full-time paid commission of three members, eliminating director. Would greatly appreciate brief comment as to method you believe preferable."

The replies are published in the bureau's February bulletin. Every one of the six vetoed the amendment.

A Science-minded Legislature

That governmental research at public

expense is increasingly stylish is illustrated by a list of current legislative research projects in Virginia, warranting nine pages of the February 3 issue of *Public Administration Notes*, published by the **Virginia Council on Public Administration**. Some of the problems under the research microscope: annexation laws, child welfare, election laws, field artillery range, forest and land questions, jail reform, office space requirements, oil and natural gas, personnel administration, reapportionment, safety department, state reorganization, taxes on commercial motor vehicles, defense. Separate commissions have been set up to study most of these problems.

The Old and the New

In February the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** published its fifteen-hundredth *Citizens' Business*; in January, the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of New Hampshire** published its first *Municipal News*.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Personnel

The Administration of Civil Service in Rhode Island. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, February 1941. 2 pp.

Planning

City Planning. Bureau of Municipal

Research, Toronto, Canada, *White Paper No.* 258, February 20, 1941. 1 p.

Public Welfare

County Welfare Bill. Ohio Institute (Columbus), *The Ohio Citizen*, February 26, 1941. 2 pp. mimeo.

Reapportionment

Re-Districting Detroit for Representation in the State Legislature. By J. M. Leonard. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., 1941, 29 pp. mimeo.

Reporting

Reporting Municipal Activities. New Haven (Conn.) Taxpayers, Inc., *New Haven Taxpayers Problems*, January 1941. 2 pp.

Research

Current Research on Virginia's Problems. Virginia Council on Public Administration (Richmond), *Public Administration Notes*, February 3, 1941. 12 pp.

Taxation

The Business Tax in Canadian Municipalities. Citizens' Research Institute of Canada (Toronto). *Canadian Taxation*, January 9 and February 26, 1941. 3 and 4 pp. respectively.

Where Does the Sales Tax Go? Dayton (Ohio) Research Association, *Facts*, February 17, 1941. 2 pp. mimeo.

Contributors in Review

A GOODLY number of the world's exciting occupations have claimed **Karl Detzer** (*Common Sense at the Court House*). At the start of his career, he was a reporter, photographer, and feature writer in his native state, Indiana. Next he was a soldier in the 1916-17 Mexican border campaign. Next year, a captain in the infantry in France. Then, a member of the American secret police in Europe. Home again, an advertising man, a novelist, and in Hollywood a screen play writer and technical director. Finally—the very title of Mr. Detzer's present job suggests a romantic state of footlooseness—he is “roving editor” of the *Reader's Digest*, specializing in matters of governmental and civic interest.

AS A member of the Chicago Plan Commission, **Albert Lepawsky** (*Chicago—Metropolis in the Making*) is, so to speak, in the cockpit of the metropolitan problem. He has written numerous articles on the subject and is co-author, with Charles E. Merriam and Spencer D. Parratt, of *The Government in the Metropolitan Region of Chicago*. All his connections, past and present, have also been intimately concerned with allied matters of local government. He spent a year in European cities doing research on planning and administration. Now, besides his work as lecturer in the Department of Political Science at the University of Chicago, Dr. Lepawsky is executive director of the Federation of Tax Administrators and consultant to the National Resources Planning Board.

ASERIES of practical experiments to determine the best techniques of municipal reporting to citizens is the present concern of **Miriam Roher** (*Education of a Citizen*). This article is the account of the first of these experiments. Now holder of the National Women's Public Service Fellowship, Miss Roher is studying at the University of California in the general direction of a Ph.D. She was formerly publications editor with the National Municipal League, and is a contributing editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

NOT merely academic is **Estal E. Sparlin's** (*Printing Scandals Investigated*) acquaintance with the process of printing. He began at the bottom as an apprentice printer in Ponca City, Oklahoma, worked as a journeyman printer for eight years, and visited ten states and the Government Printing Office in Washington in preparing the materials for his *The Administration of Public Printing in the States* (1937). Dr. Sparlin is at present engaged in research in taxation and state and local government in so far as these are related to the problems of agriculture.

News in Review

City, State, Nation
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Second Pan-American Municipal Congress

***Commission on Intermunicipal
Cooperation lays plans for
sessions at Santiago, Chile.***

THE Pan-American Commission on Intermunicipal Coöperation, which developed from the first Pan-American Congress of Municipalities at Havana, Cuba, in 1938, has announced the Second Inter-American Congress of Municipalities to be held at Santiago, Chile, September 15-21, 1941. According to the commission the various unions of cities, organizing committees, and others interested in inter-municipal coöperation and organization have been actively collaborating through the secretariat in Havana. The September meeting will occur at the same time as the festivals celebrating the fourth centennial of that city; and both the republic of Chile and the municipality of Santiago have made extensive arrangements for the entertainment and comfort of the delegates. The agenda as set forth by the commission follows:

I. General Sessions

1. Informal reports of delegates of municipalities of the various countries on the practical results that have come from the First Pan-American Congress of Municipalities and the meeting of the Pan-American Commission on Intermunicipal Coöperation in Chicago, especially reports concerning the organization or proposed organization of national associations of municipalities in the several countries;

2. General discussion of methods for

intensifying and making more effective Inter-American municipal coöperation;

3. General discussion of what the municipalities may do for deepening devotion to democratic principles and advancing the standard of living of the peoples of the cities, and promoting international good will;

4. Informal discussion of methods for making an investigation or survey of municipal legislation in the countries of America—political, organic, economic, social, and juridical.

II. Committees for the Consideration of Technical Municipal Problems

1. Municipal statistics:

- a. Methods and possibilities of intensifying statistical work in relation to the municipalities in each country, and organization of the census with means of carrying it into effect;

- b. The study of the possibility of uniform methods in municipal statistics in order to arrive at an Inter-American standard of statistical results.

2. Urbanism and planning:

- a. National planning for municipalities, including social, economic, and cultural considerations;

- b. Regional planning for municipalities, including financial and legal considerations;

- c. Urban planning for the municipality, including health, transit and safety, and other technical considerations;

- d. Planning for art—urban, landscape, and plastic;

- e. Consideration of methods for the education of the general public concerning the purposes and problems of municipal planning.

3. Public services:

- a. Comparative study of the practical results obtained in the municipalities of America with public ser-

vices municipally owned and operated and those operated by private companies;

b. Definition of public services which ought to be in charge of the municipality.

III. Plenary Sessions

1. Examination of the work of the Pan-American Commission on Intermunicipal Coöperation:

a. Consideration of its continuation or modification;

b. Permanent name for congress;

c. Permanent location of the secretariat of the congress;

d. Location and date of the Third Congress;

e. Methods of extending the organization of national associations of municipalities and intensifying their work.

2. Examination of the work of the general sessions and of the technical committees in order to agree upon what may be done and to make recommendations to the municipalities regarding:

a. Means of making more effective intermunicipal coöperation in the countries of America;

b. Means of improving in the most practical way the standard of living of the peoples of the American cities;

c. Technical matters.

Indiana Home Rule Passes First Step¹

The Indiana state legislature has passed a resolution for a constitutional amendment giving cities and towns the right to adopt home rule charters. If the amendment is passed by the next legislature, two years hence, it will be submitted to the voters of the state for ratification.

¹For a discussion of amendment see NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1940, p. 638.

Council-Manager Plan News

On March 31 **Wilmington, North Carolina**, adopted the manager plan by a vote of 1,743 to 1,259.

Windsor Village, Vermont, on March 17 authorized its trustees to employ a village manager.

The voters of **Mars Hill, Maine**, adopted the town manager plan on March 17.

The **Massachusetts** Federation of Taxpayers Associations has filed a bill in the legislature of that state providing that in towns of not less than 5,000 population, 10 per cent of the registered voters may petition the selectmen to submit the question of having a town manager to the voters at a town meeting. The bill provides for the election of a board of five selectmen who would appoint the town manager, to hold office at its will. The plan would be operative on obtaining a majority vote at the town meeting.

Mr. Thomas M. Joyce, assistant executive director of the federation, also urged the legislative committee on towns to approve another bill permitting the selectmen of a town, if authorized by the voters, to appoint a full-time agent to conduct such administrative functions as they assign to him.

The executive committee of the City Manager League of **Springfield, Massachusetts**, voted unanimously to oppose a bill, introduced in the state legislature, providing for a local referendum on the question of substituting a single chamber of seventeen for the present bicameral council.¹ Springfield is to vote in 1942 on a Plan E charter, providing for a city manager and P.R. as well as a unicameral council, and it was felt that the present bill would only confuse the issue.

Somerville may be the next Massa-

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, February 1941, p. 111.

chusetts municipality to adopt Plan E, depending on its success in Cambridge, according to John E. Foster, dean of the board of aldermen, who, however, favors a council of twenty-one members or more instead of nine, the number Cambridge will have in January 1942 under its new charter.

On March 3 the town of **Canton, Massachusetts**, rejected a town manager charter for the fifth time in twenty-one years. The charter voted upon this year provided for a manager appointed by the town Board of Selectmen, with a town meeting open to all voters.

On March 18 **Ottumwa, Iowa**, defeated a proposed manager charter.

Citizens of **Port Huron, Michigan**, including members of the present and former charter commissions and other prominent citizens, have formed an organization to campaign for the proposed council-manager charter to be voted on at the April 7 election.

Cheboygan, Michigan, will vote April 7 on adoption of the manager form of government.

The charter commission of **Dunkirk, New York**, has prepared a charter which provides the city manager plan with proportional representation for election of the council.

The **Vermont** Senate has killed a House bill that would have made the office of town manager incompatible with that of town clerk and treasurer. Opponents contended that such a question should be left to local option and the town manager plan allowed free sway in its infancy.

Vergennes, smallest city in Vermont, on March 4 rejected a proposed manager plan by a vote of 193 to 143. The *Vergennes Enterprise* opposed the plan as likely to add to the budget.

In **Sheboygan, Wisconsin**, the manager plan was discussed at the bi-weekly public forum on March 12, with Mayor Herman C. Runge favoring the plan and Mr. R. H. Miller, attorney, in op-

position. On February 3 the City Council had voted to continue the present scheme of a part-time mayor, with an increase of \$300 over the former annual salary of \$1,500. At a public hearing on January 25 some 130 citizens agreed that the city should have a full time mayor at \$5,000, according to the *Sheboygan Press*, and many advocated a city manager.

Nacogdoches, Texas, has been added to the official list of manager cities of the International City Managers' Association.

The **Oregon** House of Representatives has adopted a resolution calling for a referendum on a constitutional amendment to permit counties to adopt the manager plan.

John J. Horgan of Cork reports that "the bill for establishment of county managers in **Ireland** has not yet been passed into law."

'Montclair Seeks Manager Benefits'

Under the title above, the *Newark News* carries an announcement by Mayor Speers of Montclair, New Jersey, now under commission government, that Stuart M. Weaver, executive assistant of the Public Works Department, would be made executive secretary of the commission and would also become executive assistant of each of the city's departments.

Revenue and Finance Director Faulkner explains the move as an effort to "reap whatever benefits that can accrue from a city manager plan while still operating within the framework of the commission form of government." "Even after nearly five years as commissioner," Mr. Faulkner remarked, "I'm still convinced that the commission type of government is lousy. I feel any step which will ameliorate the fundamental weaknesses of this form is justified. There is no doubt in my mind that what we are doing here in

Montclair will be watched with great interest throughout the state."

Referenda on the manager plan were twice unsuccessful in Montclair by narrow margins—930 votes in 1924 and only 230 in 1934 out of a total of 13,246 ballots.

Creation of the new position does not change the status of any other office but will serve as a clearing house for the activities of the five city departments.

New City Plan Urged for Cincinnati

The Urban Land Institute has completed a survey of Cincinnati, Ohio, largely from the viewpoint of safeguarding the heart of the city from harmful decentralization. Development of a new master plan for the whole city is urged, together with reorganization and strengthening of the City Planning Commission, with provision for adequate funds. Adoption of a long-range housing program is recommended including restoration of close-in blighted areas, and revision of building codes and of subdivision and zoning regulations. A ten-year \$60,000,000 improvement program is proposed and it is pointed out that because the city debt has been materially reduced in the last ten years and money can be borrowed at half the 1930 rates additional funds can be secured without materially increasing the 1930 amount for debt service.

Seattle Narrowly Approves Three-Year Terms

The proposal¹ to establish definite three-year terms for members of Seattle's Board of Public Works, which has had the status of a "mayor's cabinet," was approved by the narrow margin of 137 votes in a municipal

election in March, but public demand has developed to resubmit the measure next year, on the ground that it should receive a more decisive majority before becoming a permanent part of the city charter.

The proposal was fourteen votes short of passage after tabulation of ballots cast at the polls, but gained in the counting of absentee ballots. Only slightly more than 27,000 votes were cast on the measure, although more than 102,000 participated in the general election.

EWEN C. DINGWALL
Municipal League of Seattle

Nashville Gets New Civil Service Board

Nashville is experiencing a fundamental change in its civil service system as a result of special legislation enacted by the 1941 Tennessee General Assembly. In three local bills the Mayor and Board of Public Works were stripped of their control of the civil service and the pension system. These powers were vested in a new self-perpetuating Civil Service Board, the membership of which was chosen by the anti-city administration faction in the Davidson County legislative delegation and named in the bills.

Four members of the old board have indicated that they will go to the courts and attack the constitutionality of this measure which, they contend, "has legislated a group of men out of office, naming their successors." The Mayor says he will not contest the legality of the new board.

The members of the new board are appointed for life. They may be removed only by action under common law. The board may fill its vacancies as they occur, subject to confirmation of the City Council. The new board supplanted the old one immediately upon signing of the bills by the Governor.

¹See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, March 1941, p. 168.

Heretofore, all appointments of Nashville's some eighteen hundred employees under civil service have been made by the Board of Public Works, consisting of the Mayor and two other officers elected by the people. Appointments were not made from eligibility lists established by the Mayor's Civil Service Board. There was no such list. In effect, the appointments were merely personal choices of the Board of Public Works and the City Council. The old board held no competitive examinations. It operated no effective system for promotions and pensions. It heard charges for removal of employees and held the sole power of removal.

Under the new law, all appointments to city jobs will continue to be made by the Board of Public Works. But the appointees must be selected from the three highest names on eligible lists of the Civil Service Board. From time to time the Civil Service Board will hold competitive examinations, establish eligibility requirements, and maintain these eligibility lists in the customary manner. A system of service ratings for civil service employees will be set up. These will serve as a basis for promotions. No civil service employee may be discharged without a hearing before the board. Another function of the board is the management of the pension system covering those city employees who are under civil service.

Immediately upon organization, the members of the new board made inspection trips to several other cities where they gathered information and data. They expect to combine these with the best practices recommended by such bodies as the National Municipal League, the Public Administration Service, and the Civil Service Assembly in laying the groundwork for a merit system that will bring about greater efficiency in Nashville's muni-

cipal government. A full-time clerk and assistant clerk have been appointed, and the board expects to have the new system operating in a few weeks.

The third of the three local bills made the City Board of Education the Civil Service Board for teachers in the city schools. In this capacity, it governs the appointment, promotion, removal, and pension of Nashville's city school teachers.

JACK PAUL JONES

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Nashville's new civil service arrangement, as described by Mr. Jones, a Vanderbilt University student of government, will interest readers of the REVIEW as an effort to cure an evidently unsatisfactory situation; they will, however, note serious defects in the new plan, from the standpoint of home rule and democratic processes.

Legislation Sought for Ohio Municipal League Support

A movement is once more under way in Ohio to obtain legislative authority for public financing to maintain a strong organization of cities in that state. The *Toledo City Journal* recently said: "The Ohio League of Municipalities that has functioned in recent years has been supported by contributions from public officials interested in their communities. Now it is proposed again that the state legislature should permit communities to contribute from public money to the support of such a research bureau and such representation as municipalities in other states have resorted to. It is felt by the backers of the movement that a properly supported league could save communities large sums of money through consolidated studies and through keeping an eye on legislation. The present league is less effective than it might be because of lack of proper financing and need of a staff of paid employees." The *Journal* noted the existence of leagues

of cities in forty states, as well as efforts of Mayors Brand Whitlock of Toledo and Newton D. Baker of Cleveland in 1913 in behalf of such a league.

New Hampshire Municipal League Formed

Representatives of forty-five cities and towns in New Hampshire met in the state capitol at Concord on February 17, and by unanimous vote established the New Hampshire Municipal Association. Mayor Robinson W. Smith, Laconia, was chosen president, and Professor Lashley G. Harvey, executive secretary of the Bureau of Government Research at the University of New Hampshire, was designated executive secretary of the new association. Preceding formal organization, the city officials heard Roy Owsley, Washington representative of the American Municipal Association, discuss "What Is a Municipal Association?" Fred Ford, former president of the Maine Municipal Association, and Andrew Cassassa, president of the Massachusetts Mayors' Club, told of the work and influence of those bodies in their respective states.

The headquarters of the association are at the Bureau of Government Research, University of New Hampshire, Durham. The bureau will act as a clearing house for the association.

New Hampshire News

Police School.—Plans are being laid for the state's third police school, to be held in September at the University of New Hampshire. Enrollment will be open to officers and men of the state police force as well as to city police, town marshals, and county sheriffs. Last year it was necessary to cancel all arrangements for the school because of increased demands placed on local police for greater pro-

tection of defense industries during the peak of the tourist business.

Town Abolition.—An attempt to abolish the town of Ellsworth, containing twenty-six inhabitants, is meeting with a great deal of opposition in the state legislature. The plan calls for a division of the town between Campton and Rumney. Neither town wants to assume the additional burden of road mileage and general expense. Half of Ellsworth's inhabitants receive all or part of their income from some town office, according to Mr. Dudley Orr of the Tax Commission.

LASHLEY G. HARVEY
University of New Hampshire

New York Commerce Division Absorbs Planning Agency

The New York State legislature, in collaboration with Governor Lehman, has established a Division of Commerce in the Executive Department, to commence May 1. It will be headed by a commissioner, at \$10,000 per annum, to be appointed by the Governor with the Senate's approval. This agency is intended to coöperate with industry to encourage retention of present industrial establishments and the attraction of new ones. Other states in the northeast already have official bureaus for that purpose. The new division will consist of three bureaus: industry, state publicity, and planning. The present Division of State Planning, the State Planning Council, and the Bureau of Publicity in the Conservation Department, are all abolished, and their civil service personnel transferred to the new agency.

The general powers and duties of the division include the following:

To investigate and undertake ways of promoting the prosperous development and protection of New York business, within and outside the state, to serve as a clearing house for in-

dustrial problems of the state and to promote the expansion of markets for New York products.

To promote the location and development of new business in the state as well as the maintenance and expansion of existing business.

To study conditions affecting New York business, and to disseminate information and engage in technical studies, scientific investigations, and statistical research and educational activities necessary or useful for the proper execution of the powers and duties of the division.

To encourage commerce with other states and foreign countries and to devise ways and means of removing trade barriers hampering the free flow of commerce between this and other states.

To coöperate with interstate commissions engaged in formulating interstate compacts and agreements helpful to business.

Ancient Blue Laws in Delaware Repealed

Following a vigorous effort by the state attorney general to enforce the 200-year-old statutes against worldly activities on Sundays, the Delaware legislature on March 7 repealed the antiquated "blue laws" and substituted legislation permitting municipalities to authorize Sunday movies, theatrical performances, public dances, auctions and horse-racing, but forbidding them elsewhere in the state.

State and County Merit System Postponed in Washington

Establishment of a merit system for Washington state and county employees was postponed again this year by the state legislature, which adjourned in March without acting on proposals submitted to it by Governor Arthur B.

Langlie and the Washington State Federation of Labor.

The administration and labor bills, differing in several respects, were replaced by a substitute measure to which both factions gave support, but which was opposed by influential state and county officials. The substitute bill compared very closely to model standards, and would have made mandatory the establishment of a merit system for employees of the state and the three largest counties.

EWEN C. DINGWALL
Municipal League of Seattle

Post-Defense Planning— National and State

The National Resources Planning Board has presented to President Roosevelt an outline of a six-year program of public construction projects that could be undertaken whenever the existing defense emergency ends or when rearmament activities are much reduced. The report of the board was transmitted by him to Congress on March 17, with his commendation.

The report, entitled *Development of Resources and Stabilization of Employment in the United States*, was accompanied by a letter to the President which said in part: "The six-year program provides a reservoir of long-range projects originated by federal construction agencies from which the Congress and the administration can select activities in amounts and kinds appropriate to the times and the needs of the nation. It suggests alternative lines of policy for land, water, energy, and transportation and of regional development as a basis for improved plans and programs in future years."

Of the eight major recommendations in the report the first three, dealing with the proposed reservoir of projects, were:

"1. Continued and invigorated efforts

to secure the preparation of six-year programs or capital budgets by federal agencies, state governments, local governments and other agencies, public and private, anticipating a large volume of construction activity.

"2. Development of alternate lists of projects included in six-year programs according to size of the project, types and locations of skilled and unskilled labor involved, materials needed, rapidity of beginning, and flexibility of termination—all in relation to employment stabilization.

"3. Immediate inauguration of surveys, investigations, and preparation of engineering plans and specifications for selected projects through allocation of aids to federal and non-federal agencies from a revolving fund to be administered by the President through his executive office, and reimbursed to the revolving fund as part of the cost of construction of the project."

The other five major recommendations, to permit rapid inauguration of work on projects in times of need, included advance authorization by Congress.

The board, which now consists of Frederic A. Delano, chairman, Charles E. Merriam, and George F. Yantis, with Charles W. Eliot as the director, emphasized that though priority is now given to defense undertakings "we must not lose sight of those governmental activities that are vital to our long-term safety, such as the protection of our soil, the safeguarding of national health, the protection of morale, and the preparation for post-emergency adjustments. In a broader sense, these too are measures of national defense."

On March 16 the New York State Advisory Council on Unemployment Insurance proposed to Governor Lehman and the legislature that there be set up immediately a special state planning agency to map public works, re-

lief programs, and other means for averting an economic collapse when defense production comes to a halt. It was suggested that such an agency could be called the State Re-employment Planning Council and that it should include fiscal authorities as well as representatives of all state departments having to do with unemployment, placement, and public works. Unemployment insurance alone, it was pointed out, is inadequate to deal with a problem of such magnitude, which may amount to "a social crisis more acute than ever before," the prevention of which should be planned for now.

Equalization and Extension of Social Security

Federal legislation to extend the social security system and equalize old-age benefits was forecast by President Roosevelt on March 14. The President stated that he was seeking a formula under which persons eligible for old-age pensions in the poorer states could obtain benefits more in line with those in states of greater wealth per capita; individual payments in the latter being four to five times as much as in the former. Gradual increase in the number of people to be covered by the social security program was advocated.

Wellesley Summer Institute

Domestic problems and the foreign policy of the United States will be discussed under leading economists and teachers of political science from many colleges at the Summer Institute for Social Progress, to be held July 5-19 on the summer campus of Wellesley College at Lake Waban, Massachusetts. The central theme is "Strengthening America at Home and Abroad"; the full program may be secured from the director, Dorothy P. Hill, 22 Oakland Place, Buffalo, New York.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Roundup—

THE League of Women Voters apparently is well aware of one fundamental principle of citizen action which all too often is neglected by zealous groups anxious to bring about a particular change. This is the necessity for bringing other groups into the picture to make reform movements truly community-wide. . . . For example, according to the *March Illinois Voter*, it was at the instigation of the **Illinois League** that representatives of dealer, producer, labor, and consumer organizations in the state, interested in the milk problem, met and formed the **Illinois Milk Council**. On such a controversial subject as milk control, the inclusion of representatives of all points of view is certainly a wise move. . . . In a similar manner, the **New Jersey League** recently took the lead in calling a meeting of delegates from many types of organizations for the opening of a campaign to revise New Jersey's constitution.

In January the **West Hartford (Connecticut) League** sponsored a highly successful "Know Your Town" meeting at which all the town officers appeared and spoke briefly and simply on their jobs and the problems they face. This was just what the town was looking for, since over five hundred people attended and responded enthusiastically to the program. . . . We wouldn't be surprised if this were the kind of thing people in a good many cities and towns are looking for, always assuming that such a gathering is intelligently planned and handled in a lively manner to keep it from becoming heavy.

"Paying the Piper," an article in the March issue of the *Independent Woman*,

monthly publication of the **National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs**, contains an excellent outline for use by citizen organizations which want to check up on their local governments. Standards of administrative organization, personnel practices, and fiscal procedures are all included and could easily form the basis of a strenuous year's activity for an organization which decided to go into the subject thoroughly.

We're always intrigued by and strongly in favor of efforts of citizen organizations to enliven what are usually considered dull and uninteresting problems. Membership promotion, for example, is faced by every group and too often in a completely uninspired way. . . . The **City Club of Chicago** has just formed a new group to be known as the 50-50 Club. Actually, all it means is that an effort will be made to get fifty club members who will guarantee to raise at least \$50 each, by selling one \$50 membership or several smaller memberships. Not an original idea certainly, but we like the sound 50-50.

The trustees of the **Civic Federation and Bureau of Public Efficiency of Chicago** have recently announced that they have shortened the name of the organization to the **Civic Federation**, which seems a good idea. A group with a long name operates under an unnecessary handicap.

For use in its fourth annual civic fund campaign, the **Minneapolis Civic Council** has prepared a solicitor's manual, which includes a detailed outline of the activities of all agencies covered by the fund and excellent suggestions to solicitors on money-raising techniques. The manual ought to suggest useful ideas to any citizen group preparing for a campaign for funds. . . . To whip up popular enthusiasm in the campaign the council also has issued an effective tabloid en-

titled *Forward Minneapolis*, presenting in succinct fashion some of the civic high-lights of the past year. This combination of careful, thorough preparation for the solicitors and dramatic campaign literature should be a winner.

The **Montclair Public Library** has recently completed a documentary film, "Portrait of a Library," which is being used by taxpayers' organizations and other community groups to show how tax money for library purposes is spent. . . . The film has been made general purposely so it can also be used in other communities. Since libraries are likely to be among the first agencies attacked in a governmental economy wave, this film may serve a useful function in providing a concrete illustration of why funds for public libraries should not be curtailed without careful consideration.

The **Citizens League of Cleveland** may well point with pride to the recent issuance of an annual report by the city administration. The city committee of the league has been plumping for such a printed report for twelve years. . . . Since annual reports provide one of the best means for the citizen to inform himself about his local government, it would be worth while, we think, for any citizen group in a community without some kind of report to urge that one be issued, no matter how simple its beginnings.

The importance and difficulty of getting out the vote on election day is generally recognized.¹ In a New England town the problem is that of getting out the voter to attend the town meeting. The **Amesbury (Massachusetts) Taxpayers Association**, faced with a situation in which less than 10 per cent of the voters were in the habit of at-

tending the town meeting, decided to do something about it. Letters are being sent to the 2,400 voters in the town, to be followed by a door-to-door canvass by a committee of the association. A week before the meeting the association will sponsor a forum to rouse community-wide interest in the subjects to be taken up at the town meeting.

R.M.W.

New Booklet Tells 'How to Study a Budget'

Publications are a dime a dozen in the civic world about the "need for" economy, democracy, efficiency, coöperation, ad infinitum. And most people agree there's a "need for" those items and a few others. But publications that tell you "how to" accomplish these ends are scarce as hens' teeth.

That's why we want you to know about the best "how to" publication we've seen in recent months: *How to Study Your Municipal Budget*, by the **New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce**.²

In twenty mimeographed pages this booklet tells a citizen group or an individual how to look at a budget, tell what it means, and make a fairly well informed judgment on whether or not a city is spending wisely.

On page one you get a few tips on how to approach the budget problem that make you want to read all the rest of the booklet. These suggestions set the stage for working with local officials where, as is often the case, they are genuinely anxious to work with you, given the proper opportunity.

Then you learn "how to organize for your budget study." There follows a simple explanation of the budget

¹See "Getting the Answer to 'Why Voters Don't Vote'," in this section.

²A copy may be secured by writing the chamber at 605 Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey.

with suggested questions based on sound budget practice. The answers to those questions will go a long way toward helping the citizen to form a fairly sound judgment about his city, town, or county budget.

Points to be noted about expenditures for each major function of local government are outlined clearly and in most cases directly to the point.

Obviously the booklet is not intended to make a budget expert out of every citizen.

But following it closely will make a citizen group budget-conscious as it has never been before, and capable of making judgments based on valid information.

A part of the booklet deals, of course, with special New Jersey budget requirements but most of it would be useful in every state as a model for producing similar budget guides for citizen groups throughout the country.

Getting the Answer to 'Why Voters Don't Vote'

What could be simpler—and more to the point?

Some 16,000 citizens of a St. Louis suburb, more than half the voting population, failed to vote in the latest primary election.

So the **League of Women Voters** is sending each non-voter a postal card asking why he didn't vote. The answers will help solve for that community one of the basic problems of democracy—"why voters don't vote."

The same job can be done by any civic organization in any locality. And from the answers which come back on the post cards will come clues on how to get out the vote. It's a basic, simple, inexpensive step toward solving one of the most important problems facing every community.

Here's what the *St. Louis Post-*

Dispatch says (March 6, 1941) about the idea and we heartily agree:

"Some 16,000 citizens in Clayton Township, comprising Clayton and University City, are to be asked next week why they did not vote in the August 1940 primary.

"The question is put by the League of Women Voters, which is mailing postcards to the non-voting citizens containing a check list of possible reasons for their absence from the polls, from illness and heat to lack of transportation and no reason at all.

"These 16,000 are more than half of the qualified voters in the township. In other communities, the absentees' from primary elections are a similarly large proportion of the entire electorate.

"This refusal or failure to exercise the franchise has become an increasingly serious problem in our democracy. It often means that highly organized machines, whose members regiment themselves for selfish political reasons, can and do dominate primary elections.

"Here is one of the chief reasons why we have inefficiency and corruption in government, and the fault lies at the door of those who refuse or fail to perform their duties as citizens.

"The irony of it is that the primary was designed as an improvement over the old convention system, where subservient delegates obeyed the will of a party boss. It was designed to extend the democratic process to permit the people to nominate candidates for office, as well as to elect them.

"But as it has worked out, the people, by their refusal or failure to vote, have permitted machine politicians to manipulate primaries as they used to manipulate conventions.

"At a time like this, when democracy is on trial everywhere in the world and when its blessings, long taken for granted, are again being ap-

preciated, it is timely to make a study of the failures of the primary system.

"We hope the 16,000 voters to whom the League of Women Voters' postcard is addressed will take the few moments necessary to check the reason for their failure to vote last August. If they do, much light will be shed on the problem and perhaps the answers will point to certain remedial measures to encourage primary voting.

"And, while the 16,000 persons of Clayton Township await their postcards, how about the St. Louis voters and tomorrow's municipal primary? Will they take advantage of their rights as citizens or will they permit the political organizations to determine who shall be the nominees?"

Efficient National Defense Demands Community Action

After long depression years with numbers of men out of work suddenly came defense and with it came jobs. But does this mean that our employment worries are over? Certainly not. National defense has created new problems for the solution of which the nation needs effective local coöperation.

In a recent memorandum¹ the Council for Democracy points out the problems and how to tackle them. Whether one is interested in the question of what can be done for people in one's community still unemployed or whether one is thinking of factories and man power which might be of help to the nation's defense program, the memorandum offers practical suggestions for local action in any municipality.

Leading point of the memorandum is the fact that Washington's task is primarily to lay out defense work and get it done. But the federal authorities "cannot move more than halfway to-

ward your community. *You* can discover more accurately than any national agency what your community is fitted to do."

In stressing the need for coöperation of the municipalities, and of every citizen, the memorandum hits the nail on the head, as such coöperation is essential to democracy. In critical times there is always a trend toward centralization. Such a trend is not in the interest of the country, nor in line with our idea that local government has a definite, independent role in our nation's administration. Good local government is vital for the whole; its success rests with self-responsibility and freedom of action.

In suggesting what a community can do, the council points to the possibilities offered under the defense program. It lists ideas and examples of how to put unemployed to work and at the same time to assist in the defense program. Several case histories of community achievements serve to illustrate the points made.

In recommending formation of community councils which should represent all local groups, coöperate with existing organizations, and coördinate their activities, the council follows the procedure which some municipalities have already adopted by forming local defense service councils.

As to the work to be done, the main opportunity for local action and the nation's immediate need lies in production. In view of a possible post-war crisis and because of the danger which lies in "booms that boomerang" the council favors the policy of subcontracting defense orders, known also as "bits and pieces" or the farming-out method of production. The main advantage of this policy rests in the fact that it permits maximum production with minimum dislocation of capital, labor, and relief.

¹*Community Employment Problems under Defense*, New York, February 1941.

Among the benefits cited for the farming-out idea are: (1) Existing capital investment is fully utilized and no time is lost building new plants and manufacturing new machinery. (2) In the event of bombing attacks upon the United States, the dispersal of industrial activity provided by the farming-out system provides maximum security for maintenance of production. (3) Local labor is employed and this eases the problem of what to do with workers when defense activities cease. (4) There is no increase in the housing problem. (5) Serious dislocations in relief are avoided and the necessity of building temporary schools and other social centers is removed. (6) By utilizing present capacity to its fullest extent, post-emergency adjustment is facilitated.

Efforts to bring new industries into the community, the memorandum advises, "ought to be in accord with a wise and thorough policy conducive to all-round industrial growth and stability and to all-round community welfare in the future." It warns strongly against high pressure methods such as holding out the bait of cheap labor, tax concessions, bonuses, or free land.

The demand for productive capacity must be met by each locality with an authoritative statement of local resources and a workable plan for putting it to use. Cities where this has been done successfully include York, Pennsylvania; Bloomington, Indiana; Kansas City, Missouri; Brooklyn and City Island, New York.

Community action in the field of labor is of equal importance. There are three major points for guidance: Comprehensive surveys of local labor supply and demand, prevention of needless and wasteful migration by urging all unemployed workers to check with the public employment office, and training men to do the skilled work of

defense.

A well planned and continuous attention to defense in each community will prove especially valuable in meeting new problems as they arise. These problems include, for instance, housing shortage and labor troubles. The council warns against labor-baiting and strike-breaking which "instead of safeguarding production produce a depressed morale on the part of those who bear the major burden of defense in the form of rising prices and who are generally the first to be asked to make sacrifices in the name of the crisis."

With regard to the employment of aliens and persons who through birth or extraction seem to be connected with a totalitarian country, the memorandum argues that "citizenship is no proof of loyalty" and that "indiscriminate discrimination," instead of protecting us from fifth columnists, creates them. "We must strive to make it seem to every man, woman, and child that America is democracy and that both are worth defending and building. If these people are not treated fairly and honestly, what will they think of our boasted democracy?" To alleviate this problem, the report recommends that communities assist aliens and persons of German and Italian stock who want to identify themselves as loyal Americans and see to it that they have a chance to share in our democracy and like it.

The memorandum concludes with the statement: "The men in Washington go only part way in building our defense; we, the people, must come up to meet them. That is the way democracy works." This is also the way to preserve our communities as healthy, happy, and permanent centers of American life and as active participants in our national efforts for the success of which their coöperation is vitally essential. G. P. BRONISCH

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Nassau County Executive Reports

*New charter has paved
way for economical and
efficient government.*

J. RUSSELL SPRAGUE, county executive of Nassau, has issued recently an attractive report telling the story of the tremendous population growth of the county, the demands and needs of the people, the purposes behind recent changes in government, advancements and reforms effected in county government, and achievements resulting from these activities.¹

Mr. Sprague reports that Nassau is the most rapidly growing county in the United States, increasing by more than 600 per cent from 1900 to 1940. This rapid growth has given rise to acute governmental problems. The road system had to be expanded and improved and health, sewage, and sanitation facilities provided. School functions required the acquisition of additional land and buildings. Problems of unemployment and relief added greatly to the burdens of the county. In short not only were new activities added but all old ones experienced rapid and extensive expansion.

Until 1936 the basic framework of county government continued to follow the form transferred to this country from England, modified only as occasion required. The county, the two cities, the three towns (townships), and the sixty-three villages varied but little from their traditional forms and activities even when it had become apparent that

they were no longer adequate to meet new demands.

To solve this problem a survey commission was appointed in 1934 to make recommendations and to initiate an evolution in county government. It was agreed that the right of local home rule of special districts, villages, towns, and cities should be preserved, although activities relating to health, welfare, and the courts were transferred to the county. It was primarily the county government that was reorganized on an efficient basis. The plan admittedly was a compromise.

The commission's proposed charter was presented to the 1936 legislature under authority of the newly adopted constitutional county home rule amendment. It was adopted by the legislature, and in November 1936 by the voters of Nassau County.

Administrative Head Important

The key of the reform charter, says Mr. Sprague's report, lay in the newly created office of the elective county executive. Although many had feared that this office would become the target of all complaints, however invalid, and that the political parties opposing reform would use these complaints to destroy the plan, growing belief in the necessity for an executive head was considered sufficiently valid to warrant the creation of this office.

The county executive in his report states that on assuming office in January 1938 he appointed two deputies, a clerk, and two stenographers to assist him. Since Nassau's was the first county charter in the state under the 1936 county home rule constitutional amendment, organizational work was more difficult since he had no close precedent to follow. A charter organization bureau created by the Board of Supervisors assisted in the work of organization and prepared the first budget under the new charter.

¹Nassau County Government, Mineola, New York, 1940.

The county executive was given the usual powers associated with such office. He has power to appoint department heads subject to approval of the Board of Supervisors and to prepare and supervise execution of the budget. Under the latter power the present executive instituted the practice of withholding 10 per cent of the appropriations in an emergency reserve fund to be carried over if not needed during the current year. He required also that all purchase orders be routed through his hands, and established standardization of supplies. As a result of these practices, expenditures amounted to one and one-half million dollars less than appropriations during the first year.

Road Debt Reduced

Nassau County is conserving carefully the state aid funds granted it for highway maintenance purposes. Prior to 1933 the county incurred heavy indebtedness to buy land for its highways and those of the Long Island State Park Commission. Since that date, however, there has been only a single highway bond issue. Nassau County has a comprehensive highway system reasonably adequate for its needs, but the taxpayers are carrying too much of the capital cost. The burden has now been lightened, however, by persuading the state legislature to permit Nassau County to apply state aid funds on principal and interest of highway bonds. The county executive pledged that he would urge legislation authorizing continuation of this practice in the future.

The county executive does not become involved in matters of departmental routine but works intimately with problems of costs, policies, and coordination. He has installed photostatic equipment for use of the various departments. He confers with department heads regarding increased demands for services, economies, revenues, new laws, and the elimination of over-

lapping functions. Also he remains in constant contact with the Board of Supervisors, with other units of government, and with private agencies whose activities touch those of the county. One of his major efforts has been to keep expenditures from fluctuating in order that the burden on the taxpayer may work the least possible hardship.

A real budget was created only after inauguration of the new charter in 1938. Previous to that time there had been only estimates of expenditures and revenues with the difference raised by tax levy. Under current practice estimates of expenditures and revenues as well as inventory of equipment and supplies are submitted by each department, and the county executive reviews them through comparison with former expenditures, conferences with department heads, etc. He states he sometimes reduces the estimates of department heads, or eliminates certain items, but that he always attempts to be just to all departments. Through this power the budget for 1940 was reduced almost a million dollars below that for 1939. Charter provisions that aid the executive in reducing costs include the requirement for parallel columns in the budget document giving comparative data, the provision for a budget message, the requirement for hearings, and the power of item veto.

Mr. Sprague declares in his report that he limits expenditures to the purposes stated in the budget, and that he maintains a balance through the quarterly allotment device. The charter provides elasticity by permitting the executive to revise at any time the work programs upon which the allotment scheme is based, by authorizing him to halt expenditures when income does not equal expectations, and by allowing him to transfer appropriations during the last two months of the fiscal year.

These powers permitted the executive to reduce the debt over three and one-half million dollars in 1939 alone, to establish the lowest interest rate on the county's bonds in its history, and to reduce costs of equipment purchased in 1940 62 per cent below that of 1939.

Improvements in the Board of Supervisors are also noted by the report. Continuation of a small Board of Supervisors has been insured by the charter provision that incorporation of cities in the future will not entitle them to representation on the board. To a board of six members the charter adds the county executive as presiding officer with a vote only in case of tie. The board adopted a calendar practice which requires due delay and publicity before final action is taken on almost any matter. Publicity is insured by the requirement that all board business must appear at least once in each of two partisan newspapers at least four days before the board meeting.

Assessment Changes

Centralization of assessment of property has been highly beneficial. Property was formerly assessed for taxation by the three towns, the two cities, and by some of the villages. Great disparities resulted, and in 1932 a County Board of Equalization was created to adjust the valuations of the towns and cities to permit the levy of an equitable county tax. Inequalities continued to exist, however. Hence the charter created a County Board of Assessors, although villages and cities were permitted to continue to make assessments for their own taxes if they so desired.

A thorough reassessment was completed by the beginning of 1941, in accordance with charter provisions. After competitive bidding by private appraisal companies, the successful bidder received the reassessment contract for \$190,000, and completed its work early in 1939. Then followed an ex-

tensive publicity and review period for correction of individual errors. Twenty-four thousand taxpayers attended the review hearings, and nearly five thousand requests for reductions in assessments were filed. Five hundred thirty-eight writs of certiorari, asking for reductions amounting to \$35,000,000, were recorded. Reductions ultimately granted amounted to \$6,500,000 or .6 per cent of the total assessed value of the county.

Creation of a County Board of Health taking that function from the local units resulted in great expansion as well as a 50 per cent reimbursement from the state where formerly local units had to bear the burden without such aid. Improvements have occurred also in the centralization of public welfare.

Justice of peace courts have been abolished and replaced by the county district court, while police justices of villages have been permitted to retain only enforcement of village and traffic laws other than those involving intoxication. Thus part-time, untrained, fee-compensated justices have been replaced by full-time, experienced, salaried judges. The substitution of a medical examiner for coroner has proved to be a desirable change. Although the newly created Civil Service Commission does not yet fully satisfy the county executive, it has advanced the merit system in Nassau County and led the State Civil Service Commission to comment: "The Nassau County Civil Service Commission deserves special commendation for the progress that it has made since its creation—in the period of two years—in adopting efficient and effective methods, practices, and records."

The report criticizes school finance because of the burdens it imposes on the county. No change was made in the school laws and the county must continue to pay school districts the full amount of their tax levies even though

the county is able to collect only 80 per cent of it. Since it has taken approximately seven years to liquidate unpaid taxes, this has worked a substantial hardship on the county. The report emphasizes the weight of the burden by pointing out that 45 per cent of the tax levy in the county is for educational purposes.

Nassau County is experiencing considerable success in putting tax delinquent property back on the active tax list. Owners and mortgagees of the property have been forced to redeem property or forfeit their interests to the county through service of a summons and the entering of a subsequent judgment. Thousands of parcels and thousands of defendants were united in single actions thus reducing costs to a few cents per parcel. Two auction sales have been held, and a considerable number of parcels have been disposed of at private sale, with costs of all such sales borne by the penalties collected. Vacant lots thus acquired have been improved rapidly by the new owners. This action has had the effect also of encouraging many owners of tax delinquent property to resume payment of taxes.

County Reform Stirs Again in New York City

The Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee has inaugurated another drive for county reform in New York City by putting referendum petitions in circulation once more. Its former county reform amendment to the city charter was thrown off the ballot by a four-to-three decision of the Court of Appeals last October.

The committee now has completed plans for an energetic drive to secure the necessary 50,000 signatures, with a good margin of safety, within the next four months. Assurances of coöperation have been given by many civic, labor, and minority party groups, most

of whom assisted in circulating petitions last September.

Under the Court of Appeals' ruling, signers will be confined to persons who registered to vote in the city last fall, but since the presidential election produced the largest registration on record this should not be a serious obstacle. The committee plans to complete the drive by June in order to avoid the summer vacation period, and if successful, the question will appear on the ballot at the mayoral election in November.

The proposed amendment is similar to last year's, except that it will be possible to make the amendment effective next January first. It would abolish the five elective county sheriffs and the four elective county registers and replace them with a single city sheriff and a single city register appointed by the mayor after competitive civil service examination. The criminal jails and custody of criminal prisoners would be turned over to the city's Department of Correction. Competitive employees in the present county offices would be transferred, and the political positions would be either abolished or brought under the merit system.

Tennessee Legislates for Counties

The Seventy-second General Assembly of Tennessee adjourned February 15 after one of the shortest sessions of its history. Very little general legislation affecting counties and other local governments was enacted. Although more than seven hundred bills became law, three-fourths of them were private acts dealing with individual counties and municipalities.

One of the more significant general laws passed was The Local Health Service Stabilization Act which provides

state assistance to local units for the organization, operation, and maintenance of local full-time public health services throughout the state. Each county maintaining full-time public health service (and the four major city governments) at the beginning of each fiscal year is to receive not less than \$2,500 per year from the state, these funds to be matched by federal funds under the United States social security act. In addition to assistance for established health units, the act provides \$50,000 per annum, to be matched by federal funds, "for the purpose of providing essential public health services in areas where special financial or public health problems exist . . . and for any other emergency or essential public health service required for the protection of the public health." None of the funds can be used to replace existing local public health appropriations or health services.

Zoning Law Changes

Another significant act passed by the legislature amended the county zoning law. This law, passed in 1935, was largely ineffective because its provisions did not apply to agricultural buildings or agricultural uses of land. By the 1941 amendment, however, counties may zone "agricultural lands adjacent to or in proximity to the state-federal aid highways, public airports, or public parks."

Other legislation authorizes counties and cities to acquire land for forestry purposes and requires county courts to cooperate with the State Department of Conservation in forest fire prevention.

County governing bodies are empowered to appropriate up to \$10,000 for advertising their resources. Another act amended the housing authorities law to permit local housing authorities to undertake housing projects made necessary by national defense.

An act which would have conferred upon the State Department of Local Finance authority to assist counties in formulating a uniform system of fiscal administration was defeated. The proposed legislation provided for uniform systems of accounting, budgeting, auditing, and reporting for counties and provided ways and means for state assistance in the installation and operation of such a system.

Counties where general sessions courts were established to replace justice of peace courts include Bledsoe, Hamilton, Henderson, Lewis, Madison, Trousdale, and Warren. Tennessee counties are not required to operate under budget systems except in a few instances where they have been required to do so by special acts.

Counties brought under a budget system by the Seventy-second General Assembly include Chester, Dyer, Jackson, Overton, and Sevier. Purchasing systems were prescribed for Dyer and Tipton Counties, and a park commission was created in Roane County.

The modified manager act for Hamilton County has already been covered in this department.¹

As usual the legislative session did not end without the passage of so-called "ripper" legislation. For example, an act applying to McMinn County abolished all existing civil districts of the county and set up new ones. The act names justices of the peace for each of the new districts to serve until the general election of 1942. These justices, who comprise the county governing body, replace those previously elected by the people of the county.

It is possible that some of the laws passed by the 1941 legislature may not apply to any county. Many local laws do not name the county but stipulate

¹See March REVIEW, page 174.

a population range which includes only the county intended. (For example, the range may be from 7,120 to 7,125.) During the session just ended, preliminary population figures were used for some local legislative acts, and in at least two instances, the official census figures for the counties fell outside the population range provided in the acts.

M. H. SATTERFIELD

Tennessee Valley Authority

Washington Grand Juries Now Independent

The legislature of the state of Washington enacted a major change in laws governing county grand jury procedure by providing for appointment of special prosecutors by the Superior Court to advise the juries and by specifying that such attorneys "shall not be subject in any way to the authority of the prosecuting attorney." Where such an attorney is appointed, the county prosecutor is barred from intervening in the jury's proceedings. Except in cases where the prosecutor has initiated the call for a grand jury, he is prevented from attending, appearing, or giving advice to the jury in cases being considered by it.

Approval of the measure by the State Senate was preceded by vigorous arguments and sensational charges that the measure was being enacted in order to "set the stage" for sweeping grand jury investigations in King County (Seattle). In the vote following the debate, the laws were approved by a bare majority of five.

EWEN C. DINGWALL

Municipal League of Seattle

EDITOR'S NOTE: The name of Dr. Frank W. Prescott, of the University of Chattanooga, was inadvertently omitted as the author of the article entitled "Tennessee County Secures Manager Plan," which appeared in this section last month.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

RFC Takes Arkansas Bonds

***Deal may prove of great
significance in field of
local government finance.***

WHEN mention was made in these columns last month of the proposed refinancing of \$136,000,000 Arkansas highway debt, it was noted in passing that an interesting feature of the sale of refunding bonds was a plan that part of the refunding issue be taken by a syndicate of investment bankers and part by the RFC. This incidental feature of the refinancing has now developed as one of the most significant events in local finance for some time, with implications which when read with other recent developments are far reaching in importance.

The refinancing, it may be recalled briefly, was for the purpose of securing lower interest rates and releasing highway funds for maintenance and new construction. It contemplated the refunding of the entire Arkansas refunding highway bond issues of 1934, issued to cure default which began in 1933. The 1934 refunding bonds were all callable, approximately \$91,000,000 on April 1, 1941, and the remaining \$45,000,000 on July 1, 1941.

The marketing of refunding bonds to take up an issue of this size, especially in the case of a state as recently in default as was Arkansas and whose bonds had their widest distribution outside the chief financial centers of the nation, was a formidable task. At the same time, it was not feasible to break the offering up into more manageable blocks—partly because a major reason

for undertaking the refunding was to take advantage of prevailing low interest rates.

A solution appeared to have been found in the organization of a vast syndicate of investment banks and bond houses to take the approximately \$91,000,000 bonds representing the April 1 option, with the RFC to cooperate by taking the remaining bonds callable July 1.

RFC Buys Bonds

The sale was set for February 27. Shortly before that date the syndicate was doubtful that it could handle the full \$91,000,000, and the RFC was requested to increase its commitments to permit the syndicate to bid for as little as \$63,000,000. The syndicate also felt itself unable to meet the state's hope of a 3 per cent interest rate on the bonds, and finally determined that it could not do better than about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The day before the sale the RFC advised the syndicate that it would bid for the entire issue at better than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and the state did sell the bonds to the RFC at 3 and $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, a net interest cost of about 3.2 per cent.

Rather bitter denunciation of the RFC in the financial press and among investment bankers followed the sale, which is quite understandable in view of the fact that the issue was expected to be a bright spot in an otherwise dull municipal bond market. The RFC was criticized not only for taking the business away from private brokers, but for setting itself up as a judge of fair interest rates (Administrator Jesse Jones had been quoted as saying that $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent was too high for the bonds of a sovereign state), for abusing its powers (since no emergency was involved in the refinancing), and on other grounds.

Feeling subsided sufficiently, however, to permit a reorganized syndi-

cate under the original leadership to purchase from the RFC on March 18 \$35,000,000 of the refunding bonds, with another banking group taking an additional \$15,000,000 for later distribution and a third fiduciary buying \$10,000,000 for its investment account, all involving a total premium (profit to the RFC) of \$850,000.

While the event was, with some reason, regarded by the banking fraternity as an unnecessary and arbitrary invasion by the federal government of the precincts of private finance, the affair has much broader implications.

Effect of Policy

The RFC quite baldly indicated its determination that Arkansas, which is one of the poorer states of the nation, should have the benefit of interest rates comparable to those enjoyed by some of its wealthier and financially stronger sisters. In so far as varying interest rates in a competitive money market act as a deterrent to unwise financing and an incentive to the maintenance of a strong and sound financial position, it is evident that the RFC's policy, if widely applied, might well have an effect which would be, to say the least, unwholesome.

It is also notable that the RFC apparently made an arbitrary decision as to what a fair interest rate on the bonds would be. The bankers' $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent it thought too high; apparently the average cost of 3.2 per cent which it offered was just right. Why was not the state's hope of 3 per cent just as right? Or why, indeed, was not Arkansas entitled (since the rate was being fixed on the rights of a sovereign state, rather than on the condition of the money market) to a rate approaching that on New York State bonds, some 1970 maturities of which are being offered on a 1.85 per cent basis as this is written? There is every indication

that the RFC was at least as interested in underbidding the private bankers as it was in giving Arkansas a break, since it would have otherwise accepted bonds with a really low coupon rate.

A simple explanation of the affair would be that Mr. Jones saw an opportunity to make a profitable investment for the RFC, and took it. The precedent thus established is, however, a dangerous one for local finance, when viewed in the light of other recent developments.

For the past several years, it must be recalled, the federal government has been pressing for legislation to end the income tax exemption of interest on state and municipal bonds, a move fought by the states and cities as a precursor to federal control of local finance. Admittedly, the power to tax is, in Marshall's words, the power to destroy, and however much the ending of this type of tax exemption may be desirable from the point of view of an equitable tax system, there is no gainsaying that it would place a formidable power over local governments in the hands of the central government.

Federal Subsidies Proposed

More recently, apparently as a sop to the local authorities opposing the ending of tax exemption on state and municipal obligations, there have been reports of a proposal to provide federal subsidies as an offset to the hypothetically higher interest costs which would result from the ending of tax exemption.

In this combination of events there are the germs of a disease which might well destroy local autonomy in the nation. It is no idle boast that local government is the training school for democracy, and at the same time there is ample evidence that the best prac-

tices of local government and local finance have been developed in those communities in which intelligence, initiative, and ingenuity have been combined and brought to bear on problems which were in their initial impact local in character. If the federal government is to gain control of local finance through the power to tax, the power to regulate local borrowing, and the power to grant substantial subsidies, it will not be long before local financial independence is destroyed. And when that happens, local self-government will be a thing of the past and the strongest bulwark of the republic will have been undermined. For this reason, Mr. Jones's purchase of \$136,000,000 Arkansas bonds, if it prove to be the opening wedge in an entirely possible chain of circumstances, may be the most reckless investment of public funds in our recent history.

Recent Financial Reports of Interest

Several reports on local finance have recently been issued which are of interest for one reason or another to students of municipal finance.

A publication which has received a great deal of publicity is the "simplified" new report of the New York City comptroller. New York's annual financial reports have been notorious in the past for their size and disorganization, and Comptroller Joseph D. McGoldrick's new edition remedies these points with a greatly condensed volume. The nation's largest city, however, still continues to be without any published balance sheets, and it may be suggested also that some fifty-odd pages devoted to a rather pointless listing of bond issues might better have been omitted in favor of a comprehensive bond maturity schedule.

The fanfare accompanying the New

York report recalls the calumny frequently heaped on the head of Chicago for its financial reporting. Columnist Westbrook Pegler and others have in the past frequently alluded with derision to the "country bookkeeping" methods of the nation's second city. The fact is, however, that the annual reports of the comptroller of the city of Chicago are both informative and comprehensive, with many significant balance sheet items supported by explanatory schedules. All too frequently, it would seem, justified criticism of a city's fiscal policies is broadened to a condemnation of its fiscal procedures, which may be perfectly orthodox.

Still another recent report deserving of note is a quarterly report issued for the first time by Comptroller Harold Boyd of the city and county of San Francisco. San Francisco has an excellent accounting system, and its annual financial report may safely be rated as the best published by any large city in the country. The new quarterly reports will supplement this fine annual reporting with regularly published interim statements. The situation will then be comparable with that of Denver, another consolidated city-county government, whose annual financial reports are a close second to San Francisco's in excellence and whose auditor, William H. McNichols, publishes a semi-annual condensed financial statement which is a fine example of this type of report.

A state report of note for recent improvements is that of Kentucky. Professor James W. Martin, of the University of Kentucky, writes of it as follows:

"The *Twenty-Second Annual Report (1939-40)* of the Kentucky Department of Revenue makes an added step forward in using modern methods of conveying factual data regarding the

revenue system and its operation. It provides in non-technical language presented in attractive form and through varied mediums the sort of exact information a taxpayer should have.

"In the first half dozen pages the significant facts about the tax and license revenues are shown in tabular and chart form. This is followed by a summary of legislative and judicial developments. In the third and fourth sections, the report explains clearly and objectively the plan and results of operations in tax administration and in other activities respectively. The final section of the forty-three-page report is a vigorous plea for giving property taxation a fair chance.

"The revision of the reporting plan in Kentucky was begun in 1936, and has been worked out gradually. For the first time in the 1939 report detailed property-tax statistics were pulled out of the printed document and mimeographed for only those who required such statistics."

Washington Raises Sales Tax

In order to finance the state old-age pension law approved by the voters last November, the legislature voted an increase in the sales tax from 2 to 3 per cent, and approved a referendum placing before the voters again the question of a state income tax, which is barred in the constitution, and which has been rejected countless times in past elections.

The increase in sales tax was recommended by Governor Arthur B. Langlie, recently Mayor of Seattle, on the basis that it would be in effect only until such time as an income tax is approved by the voters.

EWEN C. DINGWALL
Municipal League of Seattle

Proportional Representation

By George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the
Proportional Representation Review)

Exit the Party Column Ballot?

Comparison of two election systems in Toledo

I HAVE made a discovery. Voters who have a strong feeling about candidates and desire to vote discriminately find P. R. voting for a council of nine in Toledo municipal elections more simple than voting for six members of the Ohio House of Representatives with the old party column ballot in state elections. Here are the facts.

The Polish voters of the fourth and fourteenth wards in Toledo feel strongly that they can be best represented by a legislator of Polish descent who understands their group problems and can vindicate their positive Americanism.

In the municipal election of 1939 there were five Polish candidates for council. By voting first, second, third, fourth, and fifth choices for these Polish candidates in any desired order before giving a choice to any non-Polish contestant, the ballots of Polish voters eventually accumulated to the credit of their leading candidate, Ollie Czelusta, and he was elected. In this connection it is worthy of note that the Polish voters of the fourth and fourteenth wards had fewer invalid ballots than the "intelligentsia" of the tenth and twelfth wards.

"Scratching the Ticket"

In the state election last fall, six members of the Ohio House of Representatives were chosen by election at large with a regular party column ballot. Now it happened that the only Polish candidate running for this office, Mr. Landowski, was on the Democratic slate; consequently, many Polish voters

who were Republican marked their ballot at the top for a straight Republican ticket but put a cross in front of the name of Landowski on the Democratic slate for representative.

Despite the fact that the voters could vote for six representatives, the net result of this procedure was to give the Democratic candidate, Landowski, one vote while the Republican candidates got no votes from these "scratched" Republican ballots.

Eventually, this resulted in the election of four Democrats and two Republicans from the Toledo district in a state election that was, in general, a Republican victory. This result was not achieved, however, until the Ohio House of Representatives conducted a recount of all twenty-four precincts of the fourth and fourteenth wards, because on the original precinct returns only three Democratic representatives were elected out of the total of six.

The error in the original returns was due to the fact that booth officials in these Polish precincts had counted one vote for the Democratic Landowski on the scratched tickets and one vote each for the six Republican candidates for state representative, thus allowing seven votes on each of these scratched Republican ballots when the instructions read "Vote for not more than six."

Complicated Directions

Now these booth officials should not be criticized too severely until the critic has seen official instructions on this point:

Make a cross mark in the circular space above the name of the party for some of whose candidates he desires to vote, and then make a cross mark in the blank space provided therefore before the name of any candidate of any other party for whom he may desire to vote, in which case the cross mark in the circular space above the name of a party will cast the elector's vote

for every candidate on the ticket of such party, except for offices for which candidates are marked on other party tickets, and the cross marks before the names of such candidates will cast the elector's vote for them.

Part 3 of this same section further provides that:

When two or more persons for the same office are to be voted for in any precincts, or two or more representatives or other officers, and the names of several candidates therefor appear on each party ticket, grouped under the office for which they are all running, the elector who has marked a ticket in the circular space at its head, and marked one or more of a group of candidates for such office on another ticket or tickets, must in addition to marking the ticket in the circular space at its head, also make a cross mark before each one of the group of candidates for such office for whom he desires to vote on the ticket thus marked; or instead of marking the candidates for such office he desires to vote for on the tickets marked by him, he may cross out the name of candidates for such office for whom he does not desire to vote on the ticket thus marked by him to the number of candidates for such office marked by him on other party tickets, in which case his vote shall be counted for the candidates for such office not crossed out.

If an elector who has thus marked a party ticket [according to paragraphs two and three] in the circular space at the head thereof, and has marked one or more candidates on another ticket or tickets for an office for which there is more than one candidate on his own party ticket, fails or neglects to indicate, either by individual marks or by crossing out names, which of the several candidates for the same office on his own party ticket he desires to vote for, then the vote shall be counted only for the candidates for that office that have the distinguishing mark before his or their names.¹

It must be conceded that an expert on election law can ascertain the exact meaning of these instructions, but it certainly cannot be maintained that the average booth official should be able to understand them, at least not until after he has had the correct interpretation called to his attention.

P. R. Directions Simple

In contrast to these intricate instructions on how to vote discriminatingly for the six representatives from the Toledo district to the Ohio legislature note the voting instructions for the Toledo city council of nine members.²

Directions to voters:

Put the number 1 opposite your first choice, the number 2 opposite your second choice, the number 3 opposite your third choice, and so on. You may express thus as many choices as you please without any regard to the number being elected.

Do not put the same figure opposite more than one name.

If you spoil this ballot, tear it across once, return it to the election officer in charge of the ballots and get another from him.

Even the instructions as to valid and invalid ballots are less complicated under the P. R. system. Section 20 of the Toledo charter reads:

A ballot shall be held to be invalid if it does not clearly show which candidate the voter prefers to all others, or if it contains any word, mark, or other sign apparently intended to identify the voter. . . . No ballot shall be held invalid because it is marked in ink or indelible pencil or because the names of candidates thereon for whom the voter did not mark a choice have been stricken out. A single cross on a ballot on which no figure one appears shall be considered equivalent to the figure one. . . .

Straight Party Voting

The party column ballot is faced with

¹Election Laws of Ohio, Section 4785-131, Parts 2 and 3.

²Section 15, Toledo Charter.

two difficulties. The first is that it was designed to simplify straight party voting on a ballot with many candidates and many offices to be filled in a country where the average voter prefers to scratch his ticket. The intelligent American voter, however, cannot be induced to vote a straight party ticket simply by making it easy to vote a straight ticket and hard to vote a split ticket.

The second difficulty is that there is, an increasing tendency to elect state representatives from urban districts having two to fifteen representatives. Since it is customary to chose such representatives by election at large these plural-member districts complicate the voting on a party column ballot.

To scratch a ticket in a single-member district is simple enough. A Democratic voter who marks his ballot at the top for a straight ticket and then crosses over to the Republican column to vote for a Republican candidate leaves no doubt as to his intention. But in a plural-member district this scratching of the Democratic ticket to vote for a Republican does create a most substantial doubt as to the Democratic candidate for whom the voter did not want to vote.

Is Party Column Ballot on the Way Out?

In 1936 many Democrats in Ohio voted the straight Democratic ticket in spite of their great dislike for Martin Davey because they were afraid that if they scratched their ticket the entire ballot would be thrown out as invalid. They were so enthusiastic for Roosevelt that they were willing to accept Davey for governor rather than risk having their vote for Roosevelt discarded. In fact, this situation was so clear to both

Republicans and Democrats in Ohio that last year the legislature separated the presidential ballot from the state ballot to make it easier for Roosevelt supporters to vote against Martin Davey, who was again the Democratic candidate for governor.

Perhaps the party column ballot has outgrown its usefulness even to the major parties. Republican leaders in Ohio admitted this when they voted to separate the presidential ballot from the state ballot. And the vote for state representative in the two Polish wards of Toledo shows that the party column for the state ticket worked out badly for the Republicans. Republican voters in these two wards who scratched their ticket to vote for the Democrat, Landowski, were responsible for the election of the fourth Democrat, Laderman, by default as explained at the beginning of this discussion.

Thus it happened that the Toledo electorate in 1940 gave the Republican candidate for governor a substantial majority and then elected four Democrats and only two Republicans to the Ohio House of Representatives. This is all the more unique in view of the fact that for forty years Ohio has elected a Democratic governor and a Republican legislature. John Bricker has the distinction of being the first Republican in that time to be elected to the office of governor.

O. GARFIELD JONES

University of Toledo

Correction

The following change should be noted in the tables appearing with "Comparative Tax Rates of 301 Cities—1940" in the December 1940 REVIEW: City No. 33, St. Paul, Minnesota, city rate is \$42.28; school rate, \$20.13.

Books in Review

EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

Public Management in the New Democracy. Edited by Fritz Morstein Marx. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1940. ix, 266 pp. \$3.

The term "the New Democracy" is used as a synonym for "the service state," in contradistinction to "the police state." The fifteen essays which make up the book consist of explanation and criticism of the means whereby the various governmental agencies and levels of our country are providing the many service-ends which legislation now orders them to pursue. Each essay has a high value as exposition and is worth reading by civic-minded citizens. But some are more than usually provocative and call attention to problems for which we simply must provide answers.

One such is "Political Neutrality" by Wallace C. Sayre, civil service commissioner of New York City. Dr. Sayre asks, and rightly, whether it is safe or wise to deny all political activity to civil servants. Enno Hobbing by showing how "veteran preference" deprives civil service of much youthful ability lays bare a situation which costs far more than bookkeeping can picture.

The meaning of one sentence in "Administrative Coördination" by H. A. Hopf—one of the meatiest essays in the volume—is not quite clear: "However admirable in principle are the series of legislative enactments which have resulted in making this service [U. S. civil service] what it is today, the conclusion is inescapable that the results of its operations have thus far failed in general to raise the level of government personnel much above the level of mediocrity." If that last word means "below the average capacity of the citizens they serve," then we have

a bad situation. But if mediocrity means a sort of combination of "the average, the median, and the mode," then things are as they should be. It would not be wise in this country for civil servants to be better in general ability than average citizens. They would sooner or later come to know it; unless such knowledge were tempered with the humility of an Einstein, the snobbery exhibited would be so unbearable the average citizens would abolish civil service.

The essay of David Cushman Coyle deals with a subject seldom discussed but of great importance. Elected and top-flight administrators must make many decisions which are so general as to be policy-making and legislative; where and how do they get advice on such matters? Mr. Coyle raises the curtain on "the king's barber," and what one sees sticks in the memory. Luckily, city managers do not have that problem.

One simple sentence of Samuel H. Ordway, Jr., is worth many acres of the print this reviewer has plowed through lately on the subject of democracy and how to save it: "It is time that stress be laid on the importance of educating the youth of America to understand that the true price of democracy is *voluntary party service* without expectation of reward." Adults need that lesson as much as youth and the more they ponder it the more profoundly true they will find it to be.

Another trenchant sentence, this time by Arnold Breck, is that an administrator will never rise to greatness "unless he has retained the capacity for taking excursions into utopia in his off hours." Far too few administrators or even policy-makers ever

go on such journeys. But it is good to have such a fine book entice them. That lightens the labor of the National Municipal League for one of its great objectives is to have the citizens such administrators serve make similar pilgrimages for the inspiring of their civic souls.

W. J. M.

Contemporary Economic Systems—Their Analysis and Historical Background. By Earl R. Sikes. New York City, Henry Holt and Company, 1940. xiv, 690 pp. \$3.

Professor Sikes of Dartmouth College has done an interesting and readable book on the background and development of current economic systems. It is a volume that needed very much to be written not only for the college student but also for the general reader. The book is both descriptive and analytical in character, and practically free of prophecy and propaganda. It is intended to appeal to mature persons who know something about elementary economics, and who are interested in present world problems.

About a third of the book is devoted to a brief account of our economic order and to historical sketches of proposed systems under radical movements. This part serves as an introduction to the remainder of the book, which deals mainly with the economic systems of Russian Communism and Italian and German Fascism. A concluding part is entitled "The Coöperative Movement and Economic Planning." It is devoted largely to a discussion of modifications without revolution in systems which still hold to the general theory of private capitalism. The first two chapters of this final part are devoted to the coöperative movement, presenting a compact

and informative outline of this movement. The last two chapters are on economic planning under capitalism, the main part of the discussion centering around New Deal theories and practices.

A. E. BUCK

Institute of Public Administration

Freedom or Fascism? By Connecticut League of Women Voters (Hartford). New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940. 56 pp. 25 cents (special quantity rates to organizations).

This pamphlet tells the straightforward story of the essential differences between the Fascist and the American ways of life. It sets forth objectively and by means of vivid, homely details what daily life is like in a totalitarian country. It compares that life with ours under such headings as Fascism in the home; making a living; life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; the citizen and his government; and paying the price. The contrast between the two ways is brought out by frequent discussion questions.

This project in popular education, while primarily designed for busy grown-ups, is appropriate for study groups of all ages. The Connecticut State Board of Education has given it official sanction by recommending it to its public schools. This reviewer has found it serviceable for adult groups, with the quiz questions on freedom and Fascism proving provocative and stimulating.

The pamphlet is a genuine contribution to the current re-valuation of democracy.

SOPHIA A. OLMSTED

Additional Books and Reports

Budgets

How to Study Your Municipal Budget.¹ A Brief Outline of a Suggested Procedure for Citizens' Taxation Committees. Newark, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, 1941. 20 pp. mimeo.

Constitutions

The American Constitutional System (second edition). By John Mabry Mathews. New York City, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1940. xx, 526 pp. \$4.

County Government

Montgomery County Survey. Report on Local Governmental Services in Dayton and Montgomery County, Ohio. Conclusions and Recommendations of the Survey Board; Survey Staff Report. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1940. xix, 529 pp. \$3.50.

Report on An Exploratory Examination of Local Government in the Knoxville-Knox County Area. Part I, The Government of Knox County, Tennessee; Part II, The Government of the City of Knoxville; Part III, Relationships between the Governments of Knox County and the City of Knoxville. By Griffenhagen & Associates. Nashville, Tennessee Taxpayers Association, 1940. Volume I (Part I) xxv, 178 pp.; Volume II (Parts II and III) xxi, 230 pp. \$2.50 each.

Defense

Defense Training for Public Employees. The Status of In-Service Training Programs. Chicago, The American Municipal Association, 1940. 67 pp. \$1.

Guide to Library Facilities for Na-

tional Defense. Edited by Carl L. Cannon for the Joint Committee on Library Research Facilities for National Emergency. Chicago, American Library Association, 1940. 235 pp. \$1.25.

Initiative and Referendum

The Initiative and Referendum in Michigan. By James K. Pollock. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1940. 100 pp. 50 cents.

Legislatures

Committee System of the Illinois General Assembly. Springfield Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1940. ii, 23 pp. mimeo.

Second Biennial Report of the Illinois Legislative Council. Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, 1940. 37 pp.

Municipal Printing

Administration of Municipal Printing in New York City. Report to Honorable F. H. LaGuardia. By William B. Herlands and Russell Forbes. New York City, 1940. xiv, 212 pp.²

Political Parties

His Majesty's Opposition. Structure and Problems of the British Labour Party 1931-1938. By Dean E. McHenry. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1940. xii, 320 pp. \$2.

Public Administration

Administrative Decentralization. A Study of the Chicago Field Offices of the United States Department of Agriculture. By David Bicknell Truman. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1940. xi, 211 pp. \$2.50.

Administrative Law in New York. By Committee on Administrative Law. Albany, New York State Bar Association, 1940. 372 pp. paperbound. \$2.

Public Administration and the United

¹For a review of this pamphlet see p. 229.

²For a report on this publication see "Printing Scandals Investigated," page 204.

States Department of Agriculture. By John M. Gaus and Leon O. Wolcott, with a chapter by Verne B. Lewis. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1940. xii, 534 pp. \$4.50.

Public Welfare

Public Assistance—American Principles and Policies. By Edith Abbott. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1940. xviii, 894 pp. \$4.50.

Social Security Yearbook for the year 1939. Washington, Social Security Board, 1940. xiv, 271 pp. 50 cents. (Apply to Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.)

Public Works

The Economic Effects of the Federal Public Works Expenditures, 1933-1938. By J. K. Galbraith, assisted by G. G. Johnson, Jr., for the Public Works Committee, National Resources Planning Board. Washington, Superintendent of Documents, 1940. vii, 131 pp. 25 cents.

Purchasing

One Billion a Year. An Essay on Public Purchasing. By J. Kirk Eads and Lawrence H. Wendrich. Bloomington, The Institute of Politics, Indiana University, 1940. 28 pp. mimeo. 25 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Bonded Indebtedness of Local Governments 1927-1940. Springfield, Illinois Tax Commission, 1940. ix, 413 pp.

Cities' Share of Gasoline Tax Revenues in Colorado. A report of the Committee on Relationships Between Municipalities and the State Highway Department. Boulder, Colorado Municipal League, 1940. 19 pp.

Civic Pittsburgh. Facts and Figures About Your Business. Pittsburgh, J. C. Slippy, 1940. 36 pp. 50 cents.

Exemption of Food Under Sales Tax Statutes. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1940. ii, 29 pp.

Immediate Amendments to the Excess Profits Tax Act. A Report of the Committee on Federal Finance. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1940. 12 pp.

Proceedings of the 5th Annual Meeting of the Municipal and Local Finance Officers of Pennsylvania. Sponsored by The Institute of Local Government and the Extension Services of the Pennsylvania State College. 88 pp. mimeo.

New England Trends in Taxation and Public Expenditures. Prepared for the New England Council. New York, Tax Foundation, 1940. 8 pp. charts.

Property Tax Assessments, Levies, Rates, and Extensions: 1939. Springfield, Illinois State Tax Commission, 1940. 124 pp.

Special Assessment Financing of Local Improvements 1925-1937. Springfield, Illinois Tax Commission, 1940. x, 266 pp.

State Supervision of Local Finance—with Suggestions for Illinois. By Edward M. Martin. Chicago, Union League Club, 1941. 16 pp.

Surety Bonding of Municipal Treasurers in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, 1940. 19 pp. mimeo.

Tax Deeded Land in California (supplemental report). Sacramento, California State Planning Board, 1940. vii, 21 pp.

Traffic Control

Report on a City-wide Traffic Survey and Proposed Improvements, Glendale 1939-1940. By the Automobile Club of Southern California, Public Safety Department; Conducted under the Auspices of the Work Projects Administration. California, City of Glendale, 1940. xviii, 144 pp. charts, tables.